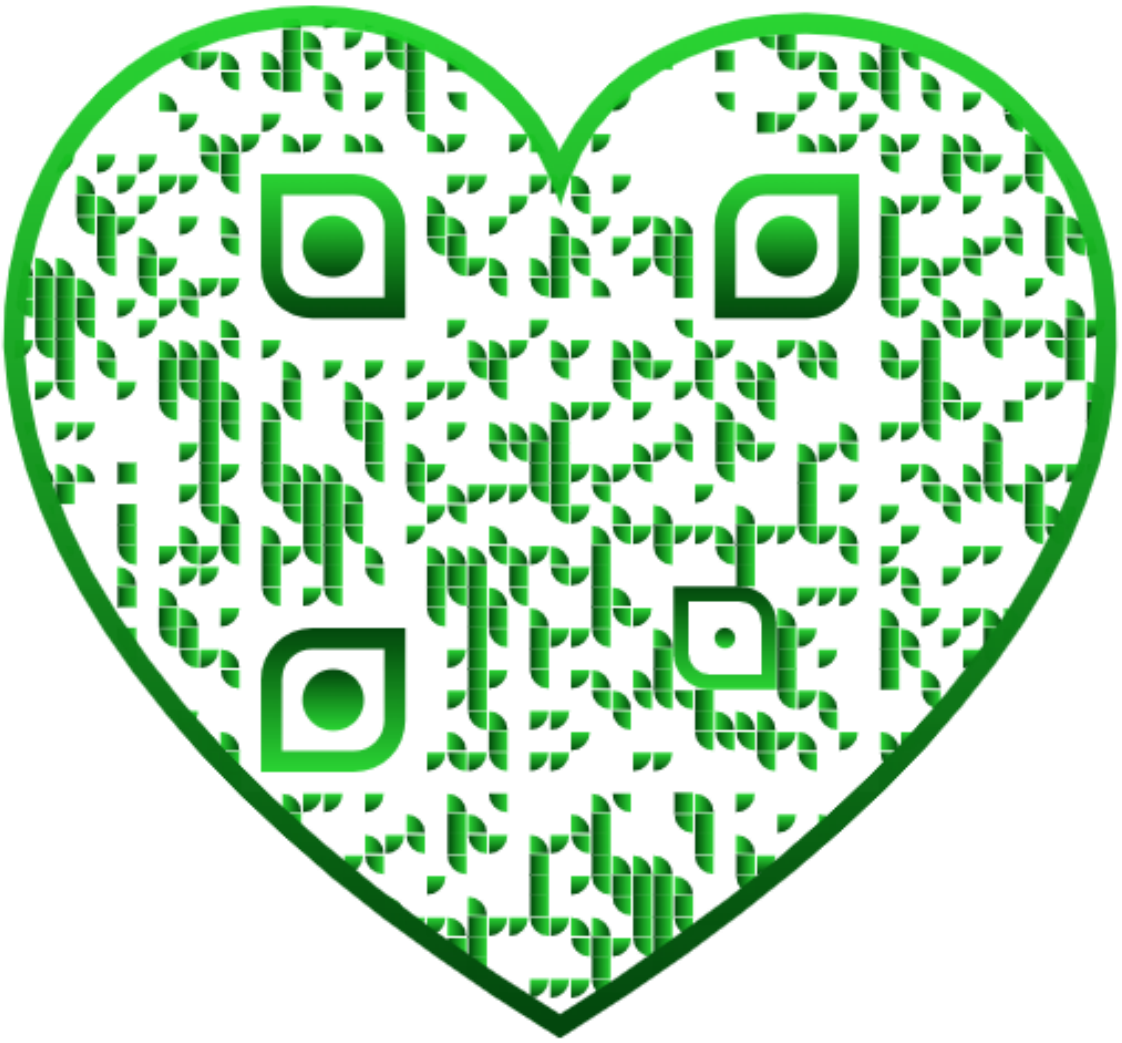
DAEMONS & SPIRITS IN ANCIENT EGYPT

CAROLYN GRAVES-BROWN



LIVES AND BELIEFS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

DAEMONS & SPIRITS
IN
ANCIENT EGYPT

CAROLYN GRAVES-BROWN

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CHRONOLOGY

Predynastic	5500–3100 BC
Early Dynastic	3100–2686 BC
Old Kingdom	2686–2181 BC
First Intermediate Period	2181–2055 BC
Middle Kingdom	2055–1650 BC
Second Intermediate Period	1650–1550 BC
New Kingdom	1550–1069 BC
Third Intermediate Period	1069–747 BC
Late Period	747–332 BC
Ptolemaic Period	332–30 BC
Roman Period	30 BC–AD 395

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SEVERAL PEOPLE have been invaluable in producing this volume. Firstly, those patient individuals who have helped edit deserve a special mention. These include my husband, Paul Graves-Brown. Ken Griffin, a long-standing supporter of the Egypt Centre and lecturer at Swansea University was also roped in. My work colleagues all deserve a mention for their patience, and especially Wendy Goodridge, a curator at the Egypt Centre. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to the University of Wales's anonymous reviewers. Finally, without the publisher and its commissioning editor Sarah Lewis, this volume would certainly not exist!

PREFACE

THIS BOOK IS ABOUT the weird and wonderful lesser-known 'spirit' entities of ancient Egypt, daemons, the mysterious and often fantastical creatures of the Egyptian 'Otherworld' and the closely related spirits of the dead. While several publications deal with major gods, few discuss lesser-known entities, such as daemons like Bes or She Who Embraces, and those that exist are largely intended for scholars of Egyptology.[1] This volume is illustrated with artefacts from the collection of the Egypt Centre at Swansea University and is intended for both academic Egyptologists and the wider public.

Writing the volume was not without problems. Naturally, the ancient Egyptians did not classify their world as we would today, so spirits of the dead, living people able to commune with spirits, and even cult objects were considered very similar. They were all liminal beings, those who were between states or locations, as well as sometime inhabitants of the *Duat* or 'Otherworld'.[2] The word 'daemon' is used here to reinforce the point that the group is not quite the same as those entities classified as demons today. However, many others use the term 'demon', 'lesser god', or 'genie'.

The first chapter explores classifications in more detail, including the once common realm of both daemons and spirits of the dead, the *Duat*. In summary, daemons and spirits of the dead were active beings, liminal, divine, lesser than the 'great' gods, did not have cult centres and could be either malevolent or benevolent. However, ancient Egyptian states of being were fluid with, for example, entities fluctuating between classification as greater gods or as humans with special powers.

The Egypt Centre opened in 1998 as a museum of around 5,000 largely Egyptian antiquities and is part of Swansea University. One might say that this book is an exercise in object-centred learning in that it is based on the museum's collection. This has advantages and disadvantages. Because this volume is bounded by the artefacts in the Egypt Centre it can never be an exhaustive study and it is biased towards certain perspectives. For example, several daemons decorate the Twenty-first Dynasty coffin (accessioned as W1982) belonging to the centre. Had the centre contained, say, a Middle Kingdom coffin, the volume would depict a quite different set of daemons. On the positive side, this approach allows exploration of many objects until now unknown in Egyptological circles.

Unfortunately, the 'biographies' of the artefacts are incomplete. It has not always been possible to trace provenance, though it is indicated where known.

Some artefacts which form the basis of the collection were held in the university as early as the 1950s. Previous professors, notably Professor George Kerferd, collected classical artefacts and some replicas which he donated to the university. However, the bulk of the artefacts now housed in the Egypt Centre came to Swansea in 1971 from that part of the Wellcome Collection that had been housed in the Petrie Museum.[3] Post 1971, a few artefacts were donated by private donors. The coffin, (accession number W1982), which features heavily in chapters five and six, came to Swansea in 1981 from the Royal Exeter Memorial Museum, and a group of artefacts was loaned to us by Woking College, Surrey in 2012. The Bes bell (p. 53) is from this loan. The apotropaic wand was loaned by the British Museum in 2005.

In the text I have referred to artefacts by museum accession numbers. Most have the prefix 'W', which my predecessor, Kate Bosse-Griffiths, used to show that they belonged to the Wellcome Museum in Swansea, as the university's collection was then called. Others, for which I was unable to find a clear connection with the Wellcome collection when first recording the artefacts on a computer catalogue, are labelled EC for Egypt Centre. While subsequent research showed some of them to have been part of the Wellcome collection, the numbers were not changed. One or two with other prefixes relate to individual donors, for example, WK for Woking College.

This volume is divided into five main sections and eight chapters. The first is introductory and includes the discussion of definitions, particularly of daemons, but also of their realm, the *Duat* (chapters one and two). There then follows a section on daemons, divided into early daemons and then into daemons from the New Kingdom onwards (chapters three and four). A third section is on spirits of the dead (chapter five). A fourth brings together spirits of the dead and daemons of the *Duat* in a section on coffins (chapter six). The fifth concerns entities who would not be thought daemonic today but to whom the ancient Egyptians seemingly attributed daemonic characteristics: quasi-daemons (chapter seven). A short conclusion draws together a few strands of thought.

The volume covers well over 3,000 years, from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period. The timespan between the building of Djoser's Pyramid and the death of the famous Cleopatra is greater than the time between Cleopatra's death and our own age.[4] Ancient Egyptian culture may at first appear unchanging, an idea encouraged in popular literature and travel advertising.[5] Yet while the institution of kingship and the worship of several of the gods, such as Hathor and Osiris, continued for some 3,000 years, there were major upheavals in religion and technology. We need to beware, in any study of Egypt, of applying information known about one era to another. In the case of daemons, the daemons of one period may have been greater gods in another.

Swansea University has a reputation for daemonology. In 2013, Kasia Szpakowska of the Department of Classics, Ancient History and Egyptology instituted *The Ancient Egyptian Demonology Project: Second Millennium BC*, which aimed to explore the world of daemons (demons) in that time and place. This project was the first systematic study of ancient Egyptian daemons from the second millennium BC. Two PhD students were appointed and the *Demon Things* website was set up to disseminate information on the project (http://www.demonthings.com/demonology2k/).

At the same time, the Egypt Centre followed a parallel trajectory, not specifically centred on daemons, but rather engaging in efforts to publicise the collection, not only to scholars but also to the wider public. In March 2016, the Egypt Centre and the Department of Classics, Ancient History and Classics came together and organised an international conference: *Demon Things: Ancient Egyptian Manifestations of Liminal Entities.* Both

the public and scholars were invited to attend and events targeted both groups and all in between. The proceedings were edited by Kasia Szpakowska. This volume on Egypt Centre artefacts is in some ways more specific in its aim of publicising the Egypt Centre collection and at the same time is more general in it aims to be of interest to both scholars and the wider public.

Finally, the translations of text from the Egypt Centre objects that are given in this volume are the result of the work of past and present Egypt Centre staff and volunteers. However, any mistakes are my own. Transliterations (ancient text written using modern alphabets) are provided where they might be useful for Egyptologists. For non- Egyptologists, where the script looks strange and is often without vowels, this indicates a transliteration.

ONE
INTRODUCTION: PROBLEMS

THIS CHAPTER SUMMARISES the problems of exploring the worlds of daemons and the dead.

In order to understand the past, we need to know how evidence was made. That is, we need to understand 'formation process', including processes which are human made and those caused by nature.[1] There are also problems of interpretation. Much of the evidence relating to the past never enters the ground. This includes oral storytelling and myths, consumed food, etc. Thus, there may well have been many stories of daemons which we cannot see.

In Egyptology, the study of the written word is privileged. This is partly because of the traditional way in which text has been studied, divorced from context and from the physicality of the object on which it appears.[2] Other problems result from the nature of text itself, which is intended to convey a specific message which, at times, is little better than propaganda. Moreover, most Egyptian texts are ritualistic rather than explanatory or didactic; they are not theological, so understanding beliefs is particularly difficult.[3]

Written religious ideas possibly only concerned the literate population, though the degree of literacy is debateable.[4] Elite bias may also be inherent in studying non-text simply because the elite use more artefacts. However, if belief systems were the same across social groups there is no problem. Unfortunately, this too is debateable.[5]

Taphonomy, the study of how objects change in the ground, is vital to understanding bias. The chemical nature of the artefacts is important; for example, stone is more likely to survive than organic material. In the case of Egypt, we are relatively lucky in that dry, desert conditions preserve many items. However, the delta lands, because of the moisture and

particularly fluctuations in moisture, have less surviving material. Recent cultural factors also play a part. From about 1830, farmers in Egypt dug through mounds of rich fertile soil to enrich their land. These mounds were the remains of settlement sites.

EXCAVATION AND POST-EXCAVATION BIAS

Unfortunately, many excavations in Egypt have not been of a high standard, so that evidence has been irretrievably lost. Different sampling and recovery methods result in different material being rescued and all excavations, including the best, entail a loss of evidence. Flinders Petrie is often held up as a great excavator, and for his time this was true. However, he concentrated on excavating buildings, largely ignoring open spaces where one would expect crowds to gather for religious festivals or other celebrations. He tended to ignore stratigraphy, so that periods of different use of buildings and their associated daemons cannot be differentiated. Lack of sieving also meant that small items were often missed. Even relatively recently, excavation in Egypt has not included the recording, collecting or research of certain types of material evidence.[6]

Artefacts from domestic sites tend to result from casual discard or rubbish deposition and so are often fragmentary. Votive and burial sites produce more carefully deposited and complete artefacts, making them attractive to excavators and collectors. Thus, available evidence is biased towards votive and funerary contexts. This might not matter if the differences between the worlds of the living and the dead, the secular and the religious, were slight.[7]

Collecting and research follows trends. For example, in the nineteenth century collecting large, monumental pieces and/or items with inscriptions was considered ‘correct’. In the early twentieth century the idea that small, ‘everyday’ items were collectable became accepted.[8] Also, collectors in the past were often not interested in context.

Different types of museums, curators and researchers bias collections, display and research. Factors such as gender, class structure and even attitudes towards sexuality play a part.[9] Present culture influences perceptions of the past. Curators must put artefacts in groups, if they are to

go in display cases, but what constitutes a significant group? Colours were important to the ancient Egyptians so perhaps artefacts should be displayed according to colour?[10] Instead, we tend to display by contemporary significant groupings. For example, small faience, stone and metal figurines representing deities are displayed in a case in the Egypt Centre labelled as 'amulets', though items of protection also included bandages and representations of deities on items such as apotropaic wands (apotropaic meaning having the power to turn away evil). Furthermore, displays often mix funerary and non-funerary items and artefacts of widely different time periods.

Aesthetics are one of the most obvious factors influencing museum Egyptology and artefacts are generally displayed differently in science and art museums.[11] The more 'beautifully worked' images, probably made for the elite, are those usually chosen for display and displays may feed back into what is considered important. Aesthetics may also result in important information, such as excavation numbers, being washed off artefacts.

In studying the past we must resort to analogy, as text and archaeology alone is insufficient for understanding.[12] However, analogy, used uncritically, can support virtually any argument.[13] Popular analogies usually derive from our own cultures, which, together with western domination over the study of pharaonic Egypt, has led to Egyptology being described as Eurocentric.[14] Ideally, analogies from other cultures should also be sought and all analogies tested against the archaeological and textual evidence.[15]

Finally, one daemon or artefact can have a multitude of meanings, all of which are correct. The salience of each of those meanings will differ according to context. This makes untangling meaning difficult.

DEFINING DAEMONS: MAPPING PRESENT CATEGORIES ONTO THE PAST

What is meant by 'daemon' is open to debate, for various reasons: 'daemon' is a modern term imposed on the past; the ancient Egyptians believed in continuum of being, meaning that an entity could transform from one manifestation to another; and modern terms are variously understood.

ANCIENT TERMS

Different cultures classify the world in different ways. We have clues as to how the ancient authors categorised their world in onomastica, lists of nouns grouped according to category. The *Onomasticon of Amenemipet* contains a seemingly hierarchical list of six types of beings:[16]

god (*netjer*)
goddess (*netjeret*)
male transfigured dead human (*akh*)
female transfigured dead human (*akhet*)
king (*neswt*)
goddess of kingship (*nesyt*)

Then there are humans in the royal sphere, other Egyptians and officials, foreigners and humans divided by age groups. There was no Egyptian word for daemon.

Other texts show subdivisions of what we would categorise as daemons.[17] These included: *kheftyu* (transliterated as 'xftw' and translated as 'enemies'); *weret* (transliterated as 'wryt', translated as 'monster'); *khaytyw* (transliterated as 'xAtyw', translated as 'slaughterers'); *weputyu* (transliterated as 'wpwtyw', translated as 'messengers'); *shemayu* (transliterated as 'smAyw', translated as 'wanderer').

Then, for the dead, the Egyptians had more than one term, *akh* (the blessed, justified or transfigured dead) or *mwtw* (those who had not undergone transfiguration). *Mwtw* do not appear in onomastica, possibly as they were outside the ordered world.[18]

Modern Egyptologists see other sub-groups, for example, 'Guardians of the Underworld', but we don't know if these were thought of as one group in the past.

TRANSFORMATION AND CONTINUUM

One could argue that, in the twenty-first century Judaeo-Christian world, we like clear, stable definitions, classification and compartmentalisation. To some extent, in order to make sense of the world this always has to be the case.[19] However, several societies see categorisation of beings as more permeable. Ancient Egyptian myth and archaeology shows us that one god

could change into another god, that 'individual' gods could come together as one god and that the self could change from one state to another.[20]

So, for example, the myth of the *Return of the Distant Goddess* explains how the sun god Re sent out his aggressive daughter Sekhmet to destroy human kind. She is transformed into the peaceful, gentle Hathor and welcomed back to Egypt (p. 25). Deities of rebirth Ptah, Sokar and Osiris could combine into one Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.[21] Even the individual human self was seen as multifaceted and included the name, heart, shadow, *ka* and body. In death the human could become divine. Mummified animals and cult statues too could become divine (Chapter 7).

There is also the problem that certain living humans and inanimate objects exhibit some, but not all, the qualities of daemons (this volume, Chapter 7). They could be described as quasi-daemons.

NO MODERN TERMS ARE ENTIRELY SUITABLE CATEGORISATIONS

In pharaonic Egypt, beings we would call 'daemons' could be referred to by the word *netjerw* (transliteration 'nTrw', the singular being *netjer*, transliteration 'nTr'). While it is often translated as 'god', 'divine' may be closer.[22] This word was also used of greater gods, kings, the dead and divine statues.[23] However, not all the characters that we would call daemons can be proven to have been *netjerw*. Bes, for example, does not seem to have been called *netjer* until the Late Period.

The term 'genii' is sometimes used, in particular of the Four Sons of Horus or for Guardian Daemons of the Otherworld.[24] This suggests a link with the genii of Roman mythology, the guardians of the dead. For me, less steeped in Roman mythology, the word 'genii' also conjures the story of Aladdin and the lamp and the jinn of Arabic folklore.

The most common term is 'demon' but it is tainted by modern assumptions that demons are malevolent. The word 'daemon' is imperfect too. It comes from the ancient Greek 'daimōn' (δαίμω), a divine spirit, often an intermediary between the gods and mortals.[25] Its use can be criticised, as not all daemons were go-betweens.[26]

DEFINITIONS IN THIS VOLUME

Daemons and spirits of the dead were often listed together in apotropaic spells; both were sometime inhabitants of the Otherworld, both were liminal and, although they had extraordinary powers, both were lesser than the 'great' gods and therefore, except in the Graeco- Roman Period, did not have cult centres. Daemons and the dead might both be classified as divine (*netjer*). Spirits of the dead, like greater gods, might have their 'bodies' vivified through the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. Daemons, not being the focus of a cult, did not dwell in statue bodies, though they could enter living human bodies. Daemons and the dead were so close that we might wonder whether dead persons could become daemons. Indeed, for the ancient Greeks, some souls of the dead were classified as daimōns and, among modern Egyptologists, the dead and deified humans are included in discussions on daemons.[27]

The definition of the dead used here is humans/people whose body is no longer viable in the world of the living. The Egyptians identified themselves as *remet* (transliteration, rmT), which referred to the people living in Egypt itself and to humans more widely. The dead body needed to be vivified to make it divine (see pp. 69–71). The difference between humans and other animals varied throughout Egyptian history and depended on the species of animal and the social context of human. For the purposes of this volume, I see 'spirits of the dead' as the non-corporeal part of the deceased, while recognising that the corporeal was important to afterlife existence.

I define daemons as:

- Liminal
- Extraordinary
- Lesser than the 'great gods'

I include personifications as daemons because of the near impossibility of distinguishing between self-motivated beings and rhetorical personifications. The difference is along a continuum rather than a duality.[28] It has been suggested that, in Egypt, the anthropomorphisation of powers in the Predynastic Period gave rise to belief in gods.[29]

LIMINAL

Daemons were not quite great gods and not quite humans but had much in common with both groups. This characteristic, which is also shared by the dead, means daemons could act as go-betweens, enacting the power of the gods upon humans. The goddess Sekhmet, for example, employed a company of disease-causing daemons.

They could be liminal in other ways. They could appear fantastical or, like the greater gods, they could inhabit realms which were not the normal abode of animals or living humans, for example the *Duat*, marsh land or deserts. Malevolent daemons may be associated with foreigners from the New Kingdom onwards (p. 158).

DIVINE/SUPERNATURAL/EXTRA-ORDINARY

Daemons, the greater gods, enthroned kings, the blessed dead and cult statues were all divine in that they had special, extra-ordinary powers. This does not mean they had total power, or even good power, or that they needed no sustenance. Some have seen these 'human' traits as meaning daemons were flesh and blood.[30]

The divine power of the daemon includes *heka. Heka* can be translated as the extra-ordinary or divine power of transformation.[31] While sometimes translated as 'magic', this word tends to have derogatory associations in Judaeo-Christian tradition. *Heka* was essential to the gods (including daemons). How it was acquired varied; the sun-god Re spoke of *heka* as being in his soul, while practitioners of *heka* such as magicians needed to undergo training in order to use it. Additionally, evil daemons may have had less *heka* than the greater gods, so the *heka* of the daemon Apep was not as strong as that of the sun-god.[32]

The notion of 'good' is subjective and other societies' notions of evil and good are not always easily identifiable. Modern commentators require an explanation when the 'good' Bes-type daemon was shown on one New Kingdom Papyrus threatening the heart of the deceased.[33]

Human foibles and a need for sustenance does not prove flesh and blood existence. Like us, the Egyptians made use of symbolic language and representation to express ideas which could not be expressed in any other

way, so the sustenance of daemons, for example, may not have been considered earthly.

LESSER THAN 'GREAT' GODS

The ancient Egyptians themselves certainly distinguished between major and minor gods. The Great Abydos Stela of Ramesses IV proclaims intention to treat all gods, both greater and minor, equally.[34] But there were no hard and fast rules as to which were greater and which were lesser gods. A little-known deity without a cult centre might, in the right circumstances, have been designated a 'Great God'. For example, an Otherworld feline-headed deity who sometimes appeared on Twenty-first Dynasty coffins, but who had no cult centre, was called 'Great God who is in the Duat' (this volume, p. 128, n. 39).

The pre-eminence of the great gods was in part maintained by cult centres, something daemons tended not to have, at least until the Graeco-Roman Period.[35] The superiority of the great gods may also have been indicated by their slim, youthful and usually clothed figures. Daemons do not conform to this standard. However, this is not a hard and fast rule.

It may be possible to compare the respect with which different deities were treated within discrete periods. So, for example, in the Ramesside Period classical Egyptian was used to address gods and popular speech to address daemons.[36] Furthermore, daemons were not included in stories but are mentioned in magical texts. It would be interesting to know if this were the case outside the Ramesside Period. Of course, such categorisation depends upon textual evidence which does not always survive.[37]

TWO
DWELLINGS OF THE DEAD AND DAEMONS

AROUND 2,500 DAEMONS, plus the dead, are illustrated in New Kingdom Otherworld books decorating elite tombs, coffins and papyri. These books include *Coffin Texts*, the *Book of the Dead*, the *Book of Caverns*, the *Book of Gates*, the *Book of Two Ways, The Amduat* and the *Books of Breathing*. This accounts for many demons but not all, as more existed outside the Otherworld.[1] The Egyptians held several, sometimes simultaneous, ideas about the abode of the dead and daemons. It could be the world of the tomb, or it could be the world of the *Duat*, the Field of Reeds and the Field of Offerings. The consistent beliefs surrounding the Otherworld were that it was 'not here' and/or 'not now', and that it was also occupied by the greater gods, including Osiris. It was both threatening and rejuvenating.

WHAT WAS IN THE OTHERWORLD?

In several texts, the Otherworld was described as having rivers, islands and lakes, very like Egypt. There could also be caverns, gates, mounds, halls or doors through which the deceased must pass and thereby undergo transition. In some descriptions, the *Duat* was divided into hours, through which the deceased must pass. Often transitional areas were guarded by dangerous and weird entities. Different texts described different daemons and different numbers of caverns, gates, doors or rooms within rooms, and even within one Afterlife book there might be contradictory descriptions. Judgement was important. Unsuccessful judgement meant decapitation, being caught in a net, burnt in fires, or having one's heart eaten. The Lake of Fire (this volume, pp. 85–8) both purified the blessed and destroyed the unsuccessful. The judge could be Re, Anubis, Thoth, Osiris, a deity named as 'the Great God', or a

tribunal of forty-two judges. Living in the *Duat* with Osiris or sailing with the sun-god Re, joining the Imperishable Stars, or abiding in the Field of Reeds/Rushes, or the Field of Rest/Offerings was the deceased's goal.[2]

The land of the dead may even have been in several places concurrently, as suggested in this Nineteenth Dynasty (1295–1186 BC) text:

> It is his *ba*, one says, that is in the distant sky.
> He himself is in the *Duat*, foremost of the East.
> His *ba* is in the sky, his body is in the West.
> His statue is in Hermonthis, exalting his appearances.
> One is Amun, who hides from them, who conceals himself from the gods,
> His nature is unknown.[3]

THE *DUAT*, THE FIELD OF REEDS, FIELD OF REST AND THE IMPERISHABLE STARS

Some scholars interpret the Field of Reeds and the Field of Rest as part of the *Duat*, while others see the *Duat* as a way station on route to these abodes.[4] One concept was that the deceased travelled across the sunlit sky with the solar god, Re, in his day boat and then through the dark *Duat* in his night boat. This idea of cyclical rebirth through Re could include Osiris, with the two gods uniting in the depths of the night to produce the reborn sun-god, and with him, the reborn human dead (p. 91). According to texts from the tomb of Seti I (KV 17) and that of Ramesses V/VI (KV 9), the *Duat* dwelling of the dead was a place of starry darkness.[5] Concurrently, the hope was that the dead would 'go forth by day' to see their loved ones on earth. The *Book of the Dead* is a collection of spells for the Afterlife, popular from the time of the New Kingdom onwards. It was christened the *Book of the Dead* by Egyptologists but was originally called 'The Book of Going Forth by Day'.[6] The ancient name suggests a desire for daylight existence; dwelling in the gloomy *Duat* was hoped to be temporary.

The Field of Reeds features heavily in the *Book of the Dead.* One of the best depictions appears on the Nineteenth Dynasty (1295–1186 BC) tomb walls of a 'middle-class' artisan, Sennedjem, and his wife, Iyneferti (Theban Tomb, TT 1).[7] It shows lush agricultural land with tall wheat and a river. The couple are ploughing. It is not only unlikely that such a man and his wife would be carrying out such peasants' work, but they also wear festival clothes. It has therefore been suggested that the scene was symbolic, expressing ideas of

plenty and fertility. Spell 110 of the *Book of the Dead* describes it in worldly terms:

> the Field of Rushes, existing in the Field of Offerings, the great settlement, lady of the winds, gaining control there, becoming a blessed one there, ploughing there, reaping (there), eating there, drinking there, copulating there, doing everything that is done on earth.[9]

Where is the Otherworld?

The *Duat* was not at the edge of existence, as the god Amun was said to be 'further than the sky … deeper than the *Duat*'.[10] There may have been two Otherworlds, one in the sky and one under the earth.[11] Alternatively, the *Duat* may have been temporal rather than spatial, a metaphorical space.

THE OTHERWORLD IN THE SKY

The earliest afterlife descriptions appear in Fifth Dynasty (2494–2345 BC) *Pyramid Texts*, where the Field of Reeds and the Field of Rest were situated in the southern and northern regions of the sky respectively.[12] *Pyramid Text* 519 describes stars landing on 'the big Island in the midst of the Field of Rest', while *Pyramid Text* 749c-e describes the Field of Rest as within the Imperishable Stars.[13]

In these texts the dead king desires to join the Imperishable Stars in the northern sky.[14] (See Chapter 6 for the northern sky). Whilst the Imperishables are usually equated with the circumpolar stars, as these do not set, it may be equally likely that they were simply stars that do not die.[15] In the tomb of king Ramesses IX, the Imperishable Stars do not enter the *Duat*.[16] In the *Duat*'s darkness the Imperishables would be invisible, and thus perishable.

In the Osireion at Abydos the *Duat* was the interior of the deity Nut's body.[17] She arched over the earth from east to west with the entrance to the *Duat* being in the north, through her mouth.[18] Both sun and stars traversed the *Duat* and were thought to be there when they could not be seen. The sun travelled through Nut's body at night to be reborn each day, but for the stars the journey took a year.[19]

The revitalising power of the hidden/secret runs through ancient Egyptian religion.[20] Transformation took place within a hidden space, be it Nut's body, the *Duat*, the coffin, mummy bandages or masks (for masks, see pp. 54–6). Hidden ritual 'dramas' that affected action took place in temples, in the

concealed, innermost sections of which the gods lived.[21] Priests and the deceased needed knowledge of secrets to affect transformation.

OTHERWORLD UNDER THE EARTH

Some scholars interpret the *Duat* as the space beneath the earth, a counterpart to the sky above.[22] Others see the concept of an Underworld as a product of Greek and Roman ideas of Hades, rather than any Egyptian belief.[23]

However, several Egyptian texts suggest an underground Otherworld. *Pyramid Text* 149a describes a nether sky written with the upside-down sky sign which seems to parallel the sky above. There is also a lower *Duat* and an upper *Duat* in the *Coffin Texts* and in New Kingdom texts.[24] In New Kingdom texts, inverted beings are described as inhabiting the *Duat*.[25] This might suggest an underworld. However, some of these beings wear starry disks upon their heads and may be the temporarily inverted blessed dead, suggesting inversion may be some form of punishment necessary to rebirth.[26] Finally, the *Duat* was sometimes accessible via the ground. The New Kingdom *Dreambook* declares: 'If a man sees himself in a dream placing his face against the floor; BAD [it can mean] seeking something from him by the ones who are yonder'.[27]

The concept of an Underworld Hades guarded by a key-carrying god is evident in two Roman Period shrouds in the Egypt Centre (W922 and W923).

OTHERWORLD IN THE WEST

The *Duat* was the place where the sun went when not visible, therefore, the *Duat* was in the West, the land of the setting sun. Cemeteries were on the west bank of the Nile. Osiris, lord of the *Duat*, had the epithet 'Foremost of the Westerners' and the Goddess of the West welcomed the deceased (pp. 91–2).

W922 AND W923

When shrouds like this were first discovered at Deir el-Bahri they were thought to be Christian. Indeed, the 1924 catalogue sale of the shroud of the male describes 'a Christian Deacon, wearing an alb'.[28] However, their

symbolism is typically Egyptian, though with Greek and Roman influence. They date from AD 220–70.

Both shrouds are around 70 cm in length and are manufactured from painted, plaster-covered linen. Each shroud depicts a figure holding a plant and a chalice of wine. As early as the *Pyramid Texts*, Osiris was said to be Lord of Wine and inclusion of wine in New Kingdom tombs, such as that of Tutankhamun, has been linked to revivication of the deceased as Osiris.[29] In Roman Egypt, the use of the wine motif showed the deceased had received the necessary offerings.[30] The plant is probably myrtle, used as a medical plant in Egypt.

Both figures wear a tunic decorated with vertical bands and a mantel over the top. Both wear heavy gold jewellery, though it is unlikely that they owned it in life.[31] The wreaths, sometimes called the 'Crown of Justification', show the wearers as the blessed, or transfigured, dead, sometimes called the justified dead. The male has a clipped beard and a moustache. Beards were worn by men in both Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. He wears a pectoral in the shape of an Egyptian shrine.

At the bottom of each shroud is a *henu*-barque of Sokar, a god of rebirth who was celebrated into the Roman period. The barques in both instances are set on four legged-stands and have antelope heads. At each side of the barques sit jackals, probably Anubis, with keys around their necks. These keys represent the keys to Hades. Key- carrying links Anubis with the Greek god Aiakos, also a judge of the dead. The Anubis with keys motif is not known until the twelfth regnal year of the emperor Trajan (AD 109) and also occurs on magical gemstones. Finally, as Terence DuQuesne explained, Anubis, as a jackal is an archetypal gatekeeper.[32] One would expect a gatekeeper of this date to hold keys (earlier Egyptian ones carry knives).[33]

Figure 1. *W922 (left) and W923 (right). Greek and Roman ideas of the Otherworld. Note Anubis with the key to Hades around his neck.*

OTHERWORLD ‘OVER THERE/YONDER’

The term ‘yonder’ was also used to describe the Otherworld; for example in *Book of the Dead* 161, work was assigned to be done ‘yonder in the god’s domain’ and Osiris is described in *Book of the Dead* Spell 181 as ‘Lord of the gods of the *Duat*, great power of the sky, ruler of the living and king of ‘them that are yonder’.

WAS THE *DUAT* METAPHORICAL?

The Onomasticon of Amenemipet, introduced on p. 3, includes places as well as beings, but although the sun, moon and stars are listed, the *Duat* is not mentioned. Perhaps Amenemipet was concerned with physical reality and the *Duat* was not part of the physical world. However, Amenemipet includes gods and transfigured spirits in his lists, though possibly these were considered more ‘real’ than the *Duat*.

Perhaps the *Duat* was part of cosmic time, with Nut representing what the sky did rather than the sky itself. Some Afterlife books, such as the *Amduat*, described the journey through the *Duat* in temporal terms as a journey through the hours of the night. The *Duat* was the time during which the sun was hidden, or it might have represented an alternative level of perception.[35] The Egyptians sometimes described states as physical locations; for example, dreams were thought of as inhabiting a spatial dimension.[36] It is also quite possible that the *Duat* was at times considered a place and at other times a metaphor. Certainly, the nether sky could be written of as a defined place, though the *Duat* itself was often written as a star within a circle.[37]

HOW DOES ONE GET TO THE OTHERWORLD?

Whether it was metaphorical, real, or both, there are descriptions of journeys to the Other-world. In the *Pyramid Texts*, the route to the *Duat* was via a ladder, perhaps at the north-western end of the sky. In the *Amduat* Re entered the *Duat* by boat, on a river. The tomb was a route to the Otherworld, but was this a temporal description, death being the way to rebirth. Or was it spatial? Did one literally have to walk through the tomb?

CAN ONE COME BACK?

‘Lo, none who departs comes back again’ laments the harpist in the tomb of Intef[39] and *Coffin Text* 39 makes clear that essentially the worlds of living and dead were separate: ‘This father of mine is in the West as my supporter in the god’s tribunal, while I am on that separated land of the living being his supporter in the tribunal of men.’

But other texts suggest the dead came and went as they pleased. Not only was the *Book of the Dead* known as ‘The Book of Going Forth by Day’, but the *ba* (soul) of the deceased travelled between the tomb and the land of the living. There was certainly communication between worlds. There were letters to the dead asking them to intercede with gods to help the living. The *Opening of the Mouth Ceremony* allowed statues of deities and the dead to regain their senses, to see thereby into the realm of the living. There is more on communication with the dead in this volume (pp. 97–9); see also Chapter 7 for statues, etc., as a means of communication.

But does this mean that the deceased and deities could physically enter this world and the living could enter the Otherworld? A story possibly based on a late New Kingdom source, suggests the actual dead body travelled to the Otherworld and back.[40] However, more usually it was the *ba* which did the travelling, and the senses rather than the corporal bodies of deities and the dead which were reanimated. Furthermore, while sleep meant the dreamer saw the Otherworld, the sleeper remained in their own realm.[41]

Maybe the whole question of whether one physical part of an entity actually passed from one realm into another, or could only see from one realm into another, was not important. What was important was whether or not a being in one realm could affect a being in another, and clearly they could. The agent could be the *ba*, or the senses, particularly the sense of sight.

For many cultures, sight is affective, allowing one to touch or feel, or even cause physical transformation.[42] For the Egyptians, the Eye of Re was an active, creational, entity.[43] The piercing Eye of Apep stopped the boat of Re.[44] Evil entities were commanded to turn their heads back so as not to harm the living.[45] One suggested reason for the apparent blindness or blindfolds of male harpists at Amarna was that seeing the king might harm them.[46] Additionally, some female musicians and protective daemons faced the viewer, perhaps to affect other realms.[47] Finally, heads of deceased enemies face the viewer, perhaps for the same reasons. Eyes are closely and functionally connected with the face, which could also have been active between realms (see the section on masking on pp. 54–6).

The boundary between this world and the other was sometimes envisaged as the place where the sun rises, the *akhet*. Though *akhet* is often translated as 'horizon', this may be misleading.[48] In the *Pyramid Texts*, the *akhet* is a place of rebirth in the East with its own doorways, water, routes and fields. Although the *akhet* is at the junction of earth and sky, it is not land-based; 'horizon' is not therefore a good term for it. In later texts the dead rise from the *akhet* as *akhw* (transfigured spirits) after they have travelled through the body of Nut, or the *Duat*.[49]

From the Middle Kingdom onwards the tomb had become a point of access between worlds.[50] False doors were a means by which one might place offerings to the deceased, or even, in some cases, play games with them.[51]

The coffin was also the *akhet* from which the deceased was reborn within the body of Nut and a means of communicating with the dead. One Letter to the Dead begins: 'O, noble chest of the Osiris, the Chantress of Amun, Ikhtay, who rests under you. Listen to me, Send the message and say to her, since you are close to her: "How are you doing? How are you?"'[52]

The temple too provided a link between *Duat* and earth, as tomb and temple mirrored one another, with Graeco-Roman temple crypts mirroring the Otherworld.[53] Finally, there are depictions of the goddess Hathor in cow form emerging from the western mountains at Thebes; presumably this too was a place of permeable boundaries.[54]

THREE
EARLY DAEMONS AND A MAGIC WAND

THE EARLIEST DAEMONS known in Egypt occur as representations on items such as ceremonial palettes dating to *c*.3100 BC, or as amulets dating back as far as 3500 BC. Some of those same daemons are evident on birth objects a thousand years later.

MAGIC WANDS AND FANTASTICAL CREATURES: BRITISH MUSEUM EA38192

In 2005 the British Museum loaned forty-one objects to the Egypt Centre, one of which was an object associated with birth sometimes called an ivory 'wand' or 'knife', or 'birth tusk' (accession number EA38192). There are around 150 known examples and most, like this one, are made of hippopotamus teeth.[1] They are curved, and have daemons engraved on them. The one on loan to us is 16cm long and has been published by several scholars.[2]

While most known wands date from the Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period, they may have been revived or continued into the early New Kingdom (1550–1390 BC). Artefacts resembling wands are depicted in New Kingdom tombs and there is even a potential example in existence, though made of siltstone.[3] How wands and their accompanying daemons were introduced into Egypt is unclear.

Usually, the whole wand was carefully carved and polished, with well-executed animal heads forming the ends. In contrast, the creatures engraved on the wand are much more roughly worked. Perhaps complete but un-engraved wands were made by one group of skilled people and the

engravings on them were done by another, less skilled, group. However, there were exceptions. A fragment of a wand now in the Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung was described by Adolf Erman as 'the finest ivory working I have ever seen'. It has a beautifully worked toad and jackal standard in raised relief.[4]

Creatures depicted on such wands included composites such as griffins, but also apes carrying an eye, frogs, lions, hippopotami-lion figures and snakes. These animals are labelled as protectors and in one case as 'gods'.[5] Whether they were considered 'real' or mythical is impossible to guess.[6]

The figure of a rearing hippopotamus features on many wands and other artefacts from the Middle Kingdom onwards.[7] While there are none on EA38192, a discussion of the animal is important, as most wands were made from hippopotamus tooth, an extremely hard material and one difficult to work.[8] Each canine was split in half to produce two curved wands, each with one side convex and the other flat. The material plausibly invoked the protective nature of the hippopotamus.

Amuletic hippopotami occur from the third millennium BC[9]. They often hold a *sa*-sign, a symbol which can occur alone as an amulet.[10] The word *sa* is related to the word for amulet and is protective. The *sa*-sign may have derived from either a rolled-up reed mat used as a shelter, or from a float worn by boatmen, a sort of lifejacket.

Although I refer to a 'hippopotamus deity', the figure is frequently a composite of lion, hippopotamus and crocodile and thus sometimes known as a lion-hippopotamus figure. Usually the head is hippopotamus-shaped but with a lion mane, though there is one instance of a hippopotamus-type daemon with a clearly feline head.[11] Some sport spots like a leopard or cheetah and the hippopotamus often stands adjacent to a lion figure, perhaps prefiguring the New Kingdom pairing of leonine Bes and the hippopotamus deity (pp. 42-5).

On wands, hippopotamus deities are occasionally labelled *rer* (rr, boar), as the hippopotamus was a 'water pig'.[12] The label *rer* might mean that at this date these are not female figures.[13]

The wands share several commonalities with other contemporary 'birth items' such as ivory rods and faience feeding cups, as well as a birth-brick found at Abydos (women seem to have given birth by squatting on two bricks, birth-bricks).[14] All four classes of implement have a frieze-like

sequence of animals upon them, sometimes interpreted as a procession. The animals are not identical across artefact types, though they do overlap. Serpopards and hippopotamus deities are most common on wands. Ivory 'clappers' associated with dancing and the goddess Hathor are a similar shape and are made from the same material as wands. All five item types are connected with female protective power, birth and rebirth.

The engravings upon wands depict several deities associated with the protection of young infants and with childbirth. Inscriptions on them reinforce this purpose, for example, 'Cut off the head of the enemy when he enters the chamber of the children whom the lady … has borne' and 'Protection by night, protection by day'.[15]

The pointed ends of some wands are worn on one side, leading to speculation that they were used to draw a magic circle around the child.[16] Some have perforations at each end with a cord running through, perhaps to carry or move other objects. On tomb walls similar artefacts are carried by nurses but their presence in tombs implies protection for the deceased during rebirth.[17] Indeed, most examples have been found on funerary sites.

While all the figures on wands and related items often face one way, the British Museum example is among those showing two facing 'processions'.[18] The processions have been variously interpreted, the two main proposals being that they represented either the night journey of the solar god as described in New Kingdom Otherworld books, such as the Amduat, or the myth of the *Return of the Distant Goddess*.[19] Both suggestions concern death and rebirth.

The story of the *Return of the Distant Goddess* is possibly foreshadowed in Middle Kingdom stories such as the *The Tale of Sinuhe* and *The Tale of King Cheops' Court*.[20] The *Return* story is also part of the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, of which there was an early version during the Middle Kingdom.[21] Thus the myth could be contemporary with the wands. However, the first version which is clearly and explicitly the *Return* appears in incomplete form, on the outermost of the four gilded shrines of Tutankhamun, where it is called *The Destruction of Humanity*.[22]

The essential components of the story are as follows. Re decided to destroy humankind through his daughter (his Eye), whom he sent south. She was pacified through drunkenness caused by the wiles of a male god. This transformed her into the peaceful goddess, Hathor. Re relented and order

returned. A vital element is the ability of the Eye of Re, personified as the sun-god's daughter, Hathor, to bring order and creative power back to the ailing sun-god. The dangerous Eye of Re was often Sekhmet, the lioness goddess, but was at other times Hathor, Mut or Tefnut; on her return from foreign lands the benevolent and moisture-bringing Hathor was sometimes represented as a gazelle. The wily male god in the story was variously said to be Thoth, Onuris or Shu. Hippopotami deities were among those accompanying the returning goddess. Her sojourn in the south can be likened to death and hence the story has funeral relevance. Later texts suggest that celebrating this event involved inebriation by the banks of the Nile (often the area in front of the temple), torches, travel through marshes, the daemon Bes, the griffin, music and dance (often including foreigners) and the annual Inundation of the Nile following summer drought.

Some of the figures on the wand, such as the ape, the watery frog and the solar Eye, are particularly pertinent to this myth and fauna on wands may relate to summer drought.[23] Feline aspects placed on wands in conjunction with a hippopotamus may allude to the transformation of the goddess from the aggressive Sekhmet lioness to the more peaceful hippopotamus with whom Hathor is associated.[24]

The popularity of the myth and its links with hippopotami could explain not only hippopotami on wands, but also Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period model hippopotami found in tombs and temples and decorated with marsh plants. Additionally, sixth to thirteenth Dynasty (2345–1650 BC) paddle dolls, which conceivably related to the same myth, are occasionally decorated with hippopotami.[25]

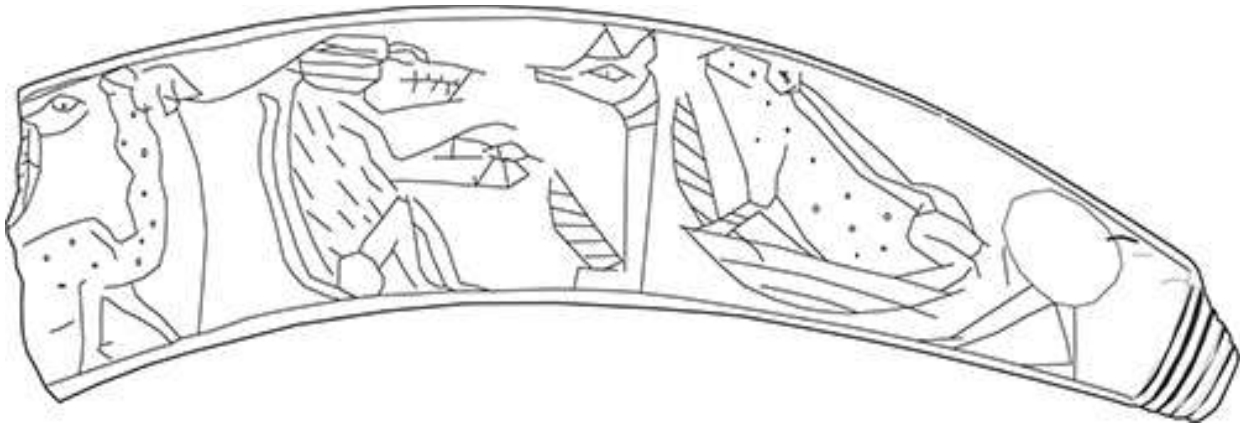


Figure 2. *EA38192. British Museum wand.*

I consider each of the creatures on British Museum EA38192 ( ) in turn:

Only the head of the image on the far left is shown; it is a snake. The next animal is a long-necked feline, traditionally called a 'serpopard' (part serpent, part leopard). Strictly speaking, the term is not accurate, as some of these animals are not spotted, while the long neck may not always represent a snake. However, for ease of use I have chosen to use the term 'serpopard'. 'Long-necked feline' is more clumsy.

SERPOPARDS

The serpopard concept possibly derived from misremembered ideas of the giraffe, or fossil remains of giraffes wrongly interpreted, or was entirely mythical.[26] It originated as a Sumerian motif and was introduced into Egypt in the Naqada II Period (3500–3100 BC). In Egypt and Mesopotamia, serpopards were often shown confronting one another with intertwined necks as, for example, on the famous Narmer Palette (*c*.3200 BC), and on the front of the Ashmolean 'Two Dogs' Palette.[27] On the reverse of the latter a serpopard is shown attacking an oryx as part of a desert hunt scene. The confronted animals in Mesopotamian depictions are often part of a 'master of animals' motif, and it is possible that the motif has the same meaning in Egyptian art.[28] The animals on the Narmer Palette are shown tethered and held by people. Both the desert hunt motif and the symmetrical animals held by a human figure motif occur on Middle Kingdom artefacts.

During this period, when el-Kusiyeh, the name of the capital city of the Meir nome (province), was written in hieroglyphs, it included two back-to-back serpopards with their necks held by a man.[29] In desert hunt scenes on tomb walls at Beni Hasan the serpopard, sometimes accompanied by a griffin, is depicted, though like the griffin, not necessarily as prey.[30]

In tombs at Beni Hasan, the serpopard's head is snake-like, so this may be a different animal to feline-headed examples. However, serpopards with feline heads also have snake links. For example, the British Museum serpopard has snakes emerging from its mouth, a common feature of daemons, and possibly represents protection (see p. 41).

Both the tethered animal motif and the hunt scene could have represented the control of wild animals or, more generally, control of nature.[31] Desert hunt scenes and the hieroglyphic writing of el-Kusiyeh suggest protection from chaos, or at least protection from desert animals. The desert was a zone of Sethian chaos, a liminal land and a place blurring the mythical and the real.[32] However, a note of caution. In the Beni Hasan tombs the serpopard is not necessarily prey and on one depiction the accompanying griffin wears a collar. Since by the time of the Middle Kingdom serpopards were paired with other apotropaic creatures such as the griffin, and as at least one serpopard has the protective *sa*-sign on its back, an apotropaic function is clear.[33] As one serpopard decorates a faience feeding cup in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, this protection probably related to children.[34]

It has been suggested that the development of composite figures, such as the serpopard, rarely occurred in any societies until the Bronze Age and that their introduction coincides with urbanisation and state formation.[35] Earlier mythical figures tend to show morphing of various animals and very rarely a composite of clearly defined deities. The mechanism for the transference of particular composite deities was perhaps the trade and exchange of elite goods, particularly seals and knife handles, and also population movement. It is notable that concurrently other motifs such as lion hunting, which did not involve composite animals, became widespread in these same societies.

APE HOLDING AN EYE

In front of the serpopard, facing a canine-headed standard, is a seated ape holding an eye.[36] The ape may represent Thoth, who from the Middle

Kingdom onwards holds an eye, variously representing either the Wedjat Eye (usually the lunar left eye) or the Eye of Re (usually the right eye). The two were sometimes confused, or deliberately combined.[37] It is difficult to tell if it is a right or left eye on the British Museum wand.

The Eye of Re represents the triumph of good over evil and relates to the myth of the Eye of Horus, which was healed by the god Thoth or, in some versions, Isis. The myth of the *Return of the Distant Goddess* concerns the return of the daughter of the sun-god, the Eye of Re. Sometimes apes with the Eye also carry torches, suggesting a night-time journey.

CANINE HEAD ON STANDARD

The canine head, upon or as part of a standard or staff, represented *weser* (wsr), the sign for power. On other wands, a canine head with legs could be substituted and occasionally a knife was held.[38] It also appeared on Middle Kingdom coffins, sometimes labelled as Anubis.[39] In the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat* in the Twenty-first Dynasty (1069–945 BC) a version of a canine standard was called *it t3w* (he who takes possession of winds/breath).[40] A papyrus of the Late Period with the same figure is a protection for a mother and son; in the text the child has the title 'the great god who resides in the *Hwt-Mskt* and emerges from the Nun'. This is the title of Re-Atum, and the *Mskt* is a cosmic area in front of the gates of the Otherworld, on the eastern horizon. The canine-headed staff was often paired with the ram-headed staff in later Otherworld texts and described as the 'neck of Re'.[41]

FROG

The next daemon is a knife-carrying frog. In amulet form, the frog dates back to the Naqada I Period (4000–3500 BC).[42] It is a common daemon on both wands and Hathorian clappers. Frogs have a watery connection, and therefore also a Nile connection. It should be noted that while I have called the animal a 'frog', it is often, as here, difficult to know if a frog or a toad was intended.

Frog motifs are frequently, and often erroneously, assumed to represent the goddess Heqet.[43] In *Pyramid Text* Spell 1312 Heqet aided the rebirth of the king. Although as yet no temples to her have been found, the title 'Priest

of Heqet' was known in the Old Kingdom, though it had gone out of use by the Sixth Dynasty.[44] The name of the goddess was used for personal names in the first two Dynasties. In this early period she appears to have had a funerary role, though at latest by the Middle Kingdom she had become associated with royal birth. As rebirth and birth were closely linked in religious belief, this is not surprising. Heqet may also have had an early role as a deity of the revitalising Inundation. She is represented on New Kingdom temples reliefs, such as the Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri temple and the temple of Seti I and Ramses II in Abydos, but is never the main goddess of the temple. At the end of the Third Intermediate Period and again during the Graeco-Roman Period, the cult of the goddess grew and she became a protagonist of the 'mammisi' as a helper in the king's birth. In later periods, Heqet regained her rebirth symbolism, not simply in relation to the king, but to everyone.

But is this frog on the British Museum wand really Heqet? Frogs on wands are usually labelled with the species name, but there is at least one example of a wand depicting a frog labelled 'Heqet'.[47] Like Heqet, wands related to the elite, even to kingship.[48] However, while wands were not confined to one area, Heqet's cult was confined to the Memphis area in the Old Kingdom and later to Qus.[49] Additionally, beings labelled 'Heqet' were usually shown as a woman with a head of a frog rather than in complete animal form.[50]

It is, of course, quite possible that frogs inscribed on wands represent daemons whose names have been lost, so it may be appropriate to explore frog deities generally and seek out commonalities. One might expect a birth or at least a fertility connection, given the frog's production of many tadpoles.

The earliest known frog depiction is undoubtedly associated with the afterlife. In the Rijksmuseum van Ouden is a ceramic boat holding the deceased and their frog companion.[51] The dead could travel to the afterlife in boats. Early frog amulets are largely from funerary contexts.[52] By the Roman Period, unnamed frog-headed figures decorate coffins.

From the Old Kingdom onwards, the four male gods of the Ogdoad appeared with frogs' heads, probably because they are primeval gods born from the primeval waters.[53] These are sometimes shown in the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat*.[54] Several unnamed frogs have water connections. In the Late

Period frogs appear on water spouts attached to offering tables.[55] Birth and rebirth, often associated with the Nile Inundation, are general frog characteristics throughout Egyptian history.

Oil lamps of the second to fourth centuries ad are sometimes frog-shaped, though as this trait covers the whole Roman world one may question whether the Roman frog motif shows any continuity with Egyptian earlier ideas. Some lamps have frogs, vine fronds and an *ankh* sign, signifying 'life'.[56] At least one has an inscription: *ego eimi anastasis* (I am the resurrection).[57] 'A Graeco-Roman vase depicting a lotus (waterlily) replaces the frog with another deity of rebirth, Harpocrates (Horus the Child).[58]

The fragmentary wand in the Egypt Centre shows the frog holding a knife blade with its foot. The image of daemons carrying knives on their feet is common and may have several meanings.[59]

As well as that on the wand, we have other frog depictions in the Egypt Centre, but are these depictions of mere animals or are they magical daemons? While the earliest frog amulets date to around 3200 BC, ours are much later.[60]

SUN-DISK WITH LEGS

Several wands show a sun-disk with legs, which is visible on the extreme right of the British Museum wand (fig. 2).[64] As stated above, there are parallels between descriptions of the solar god's nocturnal journey and the wand figures.[65] This figure could represent the sun-disk on his journey.

LIH 9

Faience frog amulet, measuring 1cm in height. This probably comes from the royal site of Amarna and is thus New Kingdom in date. Most frog amulets date to the New Kingdom. It was kindly donated to us by Ivor Hutchins.

Figure 3. *LIH9 Faience frog amulet.*

W219

Hollow pottery frog, 7cm high and bearing traces of white plaster. This is a ‘terracotta’, a clay artefact first evident in the Ptolemaic Period but more common in the Roman period.[61] They are found in tombs and on domestic sites, including rubbish dumps.[62] They are often found in the houses of the wealthy, thus were not purely a poor person’s artefact. Some have a hook or hole to enable them to be hung up. Animal terracottas have sometimes been categorised as toys but frogs did have a religious symbolism. I have found no published images of lone frog terracottas, though they are listed in the literature.[63]

This item was purchased by Henry Wellcome from the Myers collection at the Stevens auction house on 20–21 October 1931 (Lot 650).

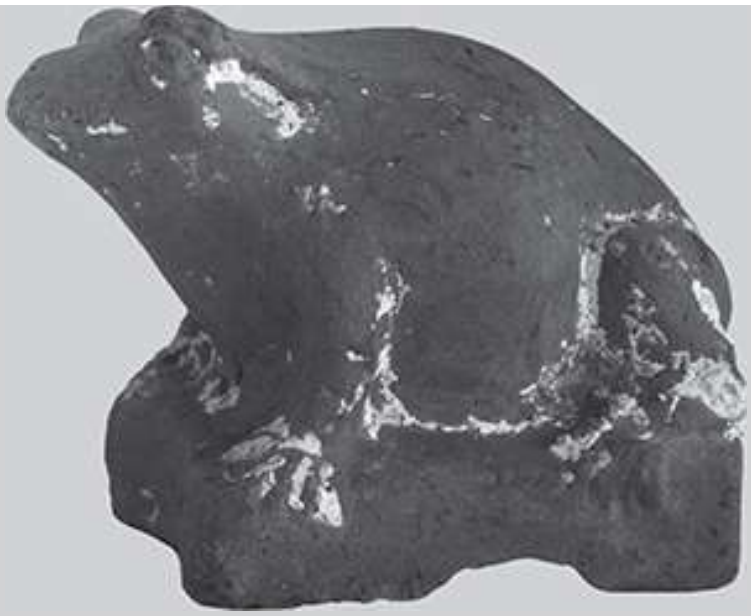


Figure 4. *W219 Pottery frog*.

At the far right are a series of parallel lines. Such wands often have an animal head at one or both ends.

Thus, the daemons of our apotropaic wand are understandable in terms of solar rebirth, probably representing the daemons of important Middle Kingdom myths.

FOUR

THOSE WITH STICKING-OUT TONGUES, DWARVES, HIPPOPOTAMI AND PROBLEMS OF GENDER: DAEMONS FROM THE NEW KINGDOM AND LATER

THIS SECTION DEALS WITH three daemons which were often, though not exclusively, associated with the home, and all of which were popular either during and after the New Kingdom, or, after the New Kingdom. They include the Bes-type daemon, the hippopotamus daemon and the Agathodaimon. Bes and the hippopotamus daemon often appear together and were popular from the New Kingdom onwards, while the Agathodaimon is a figure of the Graeco-Roman Period.

INTRODUCTION

With some earlier antecedents and from the Middle Kingdom onwards, strange, dwarf-like or child-like figures with leonine heads and tails appeared. These may well have represented several different deities and were frequently known as Aha (‘the fighter’), though other names are given. Today, these figures are commonly grouped together as Bes, or if female, Beset, a name not directly used for the deity type until the Graeco-Roman Period.[1] The name ‘Bes’ may derive from the term used for the neonate between conception and just after birth.

During the Old Kingdom and into the Middle Kingdom explicitly leonine-masked dwarf/child figures decreased, while Bes figures increased. This might suggest that Bes derives from a masked dwarf/child. It should be noted that where I use the word 'dwarf', I mean an exceptionally short person and this may include pygmies. It is not clear whether the ancient Egyptians always distinguished between the groups.

By the Middle Kingdom we see leonine-faced daemons, some with slender feminine bodies, others with masculine and portly bodies. Some appear as prepubescent or pubescent children and have straight legs, others are bandy-legged. Both often carry snakes, wands or lizards. Very similar figures appear on Palestinian cylinder scenes in association with children and solar symbols.[2] In Egypt male and female versions occur on the birth wands discussed in the last chapter. There is a female example on the Abydos birth-brick (p. 29) and others occur as statuettes; the latest example of which I am aware dates to the late Middle Kingdom.[3]

From the Middle Kingdom, and increasingly from the New Kingdom, Bes-type figures are often shown on beds and headrests, thereby protecting the sleeper in life or the dead awaiting rebirth.[4] Wooden headrests were used on beds in place of pillows. Bes was linked to the rising of the sun, which mirrored the rising of the head from the headrest. He was strongly associated with Khepri, the sun-god rising from the East (p. 91). This might help explain why, in later times, Bes was associated with the head of the solarised Osiris rising from the *akhet* (p. 92) and thus with the headless Osiris. During the Middle Kingdom and increasingly from the New Kingdom, Bes is also associated with the hippopotamus deity.

From the New Kingdom on the Bes figure became more masculine, though as we shall see there are issues of ambiguous gender. The bandy-legged image comes to the fore, perhaps suggesting emphasis on dwarf as opposed to child forms. From the New Kingdom the figure could be shown in different poses and in side view and by the Third Intermediate Period the lion-dwarf was standardised, with plumed headdress, bandy legs, leonine face and a tail. He was often depicted with a sticking-out tongue, wide nostrils and furrowed brow. Texts and iconography throughout Egyptian history suggest that the sticking-out tongues of deities, lions and humans signified aggression and insult, as well as being apotropaic.[5]

By the Graeco-Roman Period, Bes even had his own cult centres and his popularity spanned the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean.[6] Moreover, the now clearly male figure had an explicitly female consort with a human face. In this period, with earlier antecedents, Bes was frequently combined with Horus the Child (Harpocrates) and with the headless Osiris. There were even parallels between the god Anubis and Bes; both could be shown as masked, Bes is sometimes shown with jackal-headed feet and there is at least one example of a composite Bes-Anubis figure.[7]

For much of Egyptian history, the deity was largely domestic and funereal, though in temples he was a protector or facilitator of royal birth. Bes daemons are generally seen as protective, particularly with regard to women and childbirth, and are associated with dancing and music, water and the solar.

GENDER BENDING OR EXPERIMENTATION? W9 BEADED COLLAR BES

The earliest example of a Bes-type deity held in the Egypt Centre dates to the time of Akhenaten (1352–1336 BC). It is a pendant on one of a group of four beaded collars. These beaded collars are in themselves controversial and the Bes pendant is controversial in its own right. The first curator of the Egypt Centre, Dr Kate Bosse-Griffiths, saw the collars as having come from the royal tombs at Amarna and firmly believed that the Bes pendant was actually a Beset.[8] The authenticity of the collars as complete artefacts is not fundamental to a discussion of daemons and so is not discussed here. The Bes pendant is authentic.

The early New Kingdom was a period of experimentation with several versions of Bes.[9] These include figures which are difficult to classify as Bes, for example the two figures on a headrest now in Heidelberg. On one side of the headrest the figure has a Bes body but the head has a very long snout from which snakes emerge. On the other side, the Bes-type body has a crocodile head with snakes emerging.[10] There were also more standard figures, though often with long tresses.

Figure 5. *'Amarna' beaded collar.*

Figure 6. *Close up of W9 showing Bes or Beset.*

It is frequently claimed that during the reign of Akhenaten other deities were abandoned in favour of the Aten, the sun-disk. Akhenaten built a city at Amarna for the worship of the Aten. However, even this site has evidence of several deities, including Thoth, Hathor and of course Bes.[11] There are over 500 examples of jewellery from Amarna depicting Bes.[12] His solar associations and his links with feminine rebirth, both of which were important at Amarna, may have aided his popularity.[13] Additionally, the early name of the Aten included the name of the deity Shu, and Akhenaten and his wife Nefertiti were identified with Shu and Tefnut. Bes too was connected with Shu, especially in the Late Period.

The collar with the Bes pendant came on the art market in the 1880s and was purchased with three others by Lady Berens. In 1923 it was bought by Henry Wellcome, and finally arrived at the Egypt Centre in 1971.[14]

Figure 6 is a close up of one of the collars, W9. The black circles are pins holding the beads in place for museum display. The centre amulet is made of blue faience and shows a figure turned to the right, holding the root of its tail in one hand, while its other hand is held to its breast. The figure has loose, dishevelled hair and a human face. It is genuine, there are Amarna parallels,

but what is it? While Kate Bosse-Griffiths believed it to be a New Kingdom female Bes, a Beset, other Egyptologists disagree, arguing that female Bes figures only existed in the Middle Kingdom and from the Late Period onwards.[15] After the Middle Kingdom, the earliest clear Beset of which I am aware appears with a male Bes on a Twenty-second Dynasty (945–715 BC) coffin.[16] Beset is very well known in the Graeco-Roman Period.[17]

The Swansea Bes/et has a flat, human-looking face and flowing hair, both characteristics of later Besets, and holds a hand to its breast. However, its portly body is unlike the slender Middle Kingdom Besets. Prominent bellies are usually, though not always, connected with males in the Middle Kingdom.[18] However, the New Kingdom female dwarf on the calcite boat of Tutankhamun is paunchy and is arguably a counterpoint to the male lion/Bes which was associated with the piece.[19] Certainly Ptolemaic female Bes figures tend to be plump.

The hand to breast pose might be significant, perhaps even suggesting breast-feeding. Some Old Kingdom women's dance poses are comparable.[20] However, a similarly posed but clearly male daemon in a New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* that is the fighter daemon, Aha (it has a beard).[21] In the papyrus text, fighter demons, their names written with the Aha classifier, seem to be threatening to take the heart of the deceased. Normally, as described in *Book of the Dead* Spell 28, Bes protects the heart.[22]

As to the flowing tresses, in the New Kingdom hair does not appear to have been a gender indicator for Bes. As well as the flowing locks of the examples given above, there are other clearly male Bes figures with long hair some even with Hathor wig-type curls, perhaps betraying Bes's links with Hathor.[23]

I am aware of two other similarly posed examples with flowing tresses, one from the Fitzwilliam Museum and one from the Kopfler-Truinger collection.[24] The snout of the Fitzwilliam example is more animal-like than the Swansea example, suggesting a male figure.[25] The publication of the Kopfler-Truinger example is not clear enough to be sure of the gender.

But would we recognise a female Bes? The female dwarf figure on the famous travertine model boat in the tomb of Tutankhamun has recently been seen as a form of Beset.[26] There are also many New Kingdom depictions of dwarves or children of uncertain gender, who may or may not be versions of Beset. And one possible depiction of a female Bes from the tomb of

Ramesses III, which looks very much like Middle Kingdom examples but with the addition of a sticking out tongue.[27]

Would Bes's gender really matter to the Egyptians? Perhaps we are even looking at a hermaphrodite or androgynous figure? An ostracon in the Fitzwilliam Museum, undated but probably Nineteenth Dynasty (1295–1186 BC), shows a clearly male Bes with breasts.[28] The breasts are not drooping, fertility-symbolising, breasts as sported by the male Nile Inundation god Hapi, but standard female breasts. In later periods Bes is shown suckling the sun-god and a Third Intermediate Period Bes from near Heracleopolis is suckling a baboon.[29] Permeability of boundaries between male and female may underlie liminality and apotropaic function.[30]

There are other unusual Bes-type figures in the Egypt Centre.

A FOREIGN CAPTIVE OR A LIMINAL DAEMON? PENDANT W1156

This incomplete faience pendant measures 1.7cm in length and 1.1cm in width. It is the bust only, but is probably part of a larger piece. The head faces right and has a beard and collar. There is a loop for a pendant on the top. Given parallels in other collections, we assume it was part of an original complete figure, with the body also shown in profile.

W1156 was excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society in 1923 (item 23/16). It was put in the charge of the British Museum so that the museum might redistribute the items. This came to Swansea in 1978. In the Egypt Centre, the pendant was at first catalogued by the curator as the head of a Syrian captive from Amarna town site. Later the description was changed to 'a head of Bes'. Evidence for its provenance is unclear. Similar and possibly identical examples from the site are noted.[31] Several Bes depictions from Amarna have heads which look like foreign captives in that, like the Egypt Centre example, they have features not typical of Egyptians, such as beards and long hair.[32]

The similarity between the Bes heads and foreigners may be coincidence, or may show outside influence. Alternatively, similarity may have signalled the foreign and/or liminal nature of Bes, perhaps linking him with the *Return of the Distant Goddess*, p. 25, a story of return from foreign lands. Furthermore, from the New Kingdom onwards both daemons in general and foreigners were considered outcasts.[33]

Figure 7. *W1156. Amarna pendant of a foreign captive or a liminal daemon?*

DANCING AND PLAYING DRUMS: AMULET W961P

From the New Kingdom and into the Graeco-Roman Period, Bes is shown playing musical instruments.[34] He was a drummer, a flautist and a harpist and also played bells.[35]

This pendant showing Bes facing right and playing a circular drum is stylistically Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1295 BC).[36] It measures 1.5cm high and is 0.5cm wide. It was donated to the Egypt Centre in 1973 by Cyril Aldred, the late curator of Egyptology at the Royal Scottish Museum,

Edinburgh. Such pendants are known from the reign of Amenhotep III (1390–1352 BC). The position of the figure's legs suggests dancing.

Traditionally, dwarves or pygmies played and danced. Harkhuf, an official returning to Egypt from a southern expedition, received a letter (recorded in his tomb), from the child pharaoh Pepi II, instructing him to:

> bring this pygmy with you … live, hale and healthy, for the dances of the god, to gladden the heart, to delight the heart of King Neferkare who lives forever! … My majesty desires to see this pygmy more than the gifts of the mine-land and of Punt.'[37]

We can only guess, as to the type of dance performed by Bes.[38] His stance often suggests leaping or alternatively stamping his feet.[39] Some Bes figures are shown holding knives while dancing, while adjacent figures played a small, round drum.[40] The dance could be linked to Nubia, a land to the south of Egypt and, for the Egyptians, the homeland of dwarves. While dancing dwarves/pygmies are not shown holding weapons, Nubians are.[41]

It is possible that Bes was associated with music and dance because of his link not only with dwarves, but also with the *Distant Goddess* myth and music-loving Hathor. In Hathor's temple at Dendera Bes beats a drum for the goddess. Indeed, Bes was sometimes depicted on the archetypal instrument of Hathor, the sistrum, an instrument which highlights another feature of Bes, the marsh.

MUSIC, DANCE AND COMMUNICATING WITH THE GREAT GODS: W553 SISTRUM

This is a copper alloy sistrum (a type of rattle).[42] The holes on the side of the loop were for cross-bars which would have carried jangles, small metal disks that rattle when shaken. The piece on top of the loop is missing but may have been a cat or a group of kittens, which are often found on sistra and thought to represent the pacified version of Sekhmet. The handle is in the shape of Bes, surmounted by the head of the goddess Hathor. The item was purchased by Wellcome at auction in 1919.[43]

Figure 8. *W961p. Pendant showing a dancing Bes playing a hand drum.*

There were two basic types of sistrum, one with a naos (shrine)-shaped top and the other with a looped top like this one. The looped style became more common in the Graeco-Roman Period. The whole measures 17cm high, which makes it smaller than many others of this type. Because of its size, we think it may either have been used by a child or was an offering to the gods, rather than one actually used in ceremonies.

The word ‘sistrum’ (plural ‘sistra’) is Greek, but the Egyptian name for the instrument was ‘sesheshet’, a word which is thought to recall, by onomatopoeia, a rustling like the sound of Hathor as she walked through the papyrus plants in the marshlands. The sound of the sistrum was also said to pacify the gods. A Graeco-Roman inscription at Dendera reads: ‘The naos sistrum of your *ka*-spirit obliterates your fury.’ However, it is not clear if music also had a ‘scaring’ or apotropaic function.[44]

Sistra were usually played by women during religious ceremonies, though there are depictions of men, usually priests, shaking them. The sistrum was an instrument of Hathor, a goddess of fertility whose festivals included music, dance and drunkenness. Music could also be offered to the deceased, though it is never offered by Bes. Furthermore, despite the fact that Bes is linked with Hathor and he, like the sistrum, has a marshland connection, I know of no depictions of Bes playing a sistrum.[45]

Figure 9. *W553. Sistrum showing Bes.*

Figure 10. *A collection of Bes moulds.*

BES MOULDS

These clay moulds were used to make Bes amulets. Faience, a type of ceramic, would be pressed into the mould in its wet state, then fired until hard. We are not sure of the date of these moulds, as they are without context. Those with the head only, as opposed to the full- bodied Bes, probably date from the Third Intermediate Period onwards. Several moulds

show Bes with a plumed headdress of the type also associated with the goddess Anukis, who had a Nubian connection.[46] The feather headdress of Bes first appeared in the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (1479–1458 BC) and continued until the Roman Period and so is not a good marker of date.[47]

HIPPOPOTAMI, TAWERET, IPET, THE SOLAR AND THE STELLAR

From the Middle Kingdom onwards, lion-headed daemons of both sexes featured on apotropaic wands alongside hippopotamus daemons of unknown sex (p. 24). By the New Kingdom, Bes was often paired with a female hippopotamus deity (I refer to them as 'hippopotamus deities', although they often had crocodile and lion components). The hippopotamus daemon was known by several names, including Weret, Taweret, Ipet, Nut and Isis. While distinct deities may well have been intended, there was clearly much overlap and perhaps unnamed hippopotami were shorthand for a combination of deities. Part of the inscription on a hippopotamus statue in the Louvre reads: 'I am Taweret, the power who fights for what belongs … I am Reret who attacks with her voice and who devours … I am Ipet who lives in the Horizon and protects the knife and the Universal master, the mistress who fears, one whose appearance is adorned and decapitates those rebels against him.' [48]

Traditionally, scholars have called all hippopotamus deities 'Taweret', though some distinguish between two main deities, the solar Taweret and Ipet of the night sky.[49] As a general rule, Taweret, whose name simply meant 'Great One', was associated with the birth of the king, but also of non-royals. Ipet, whose name meant 'harem', or 'favourite place', was associated with the vigil of Osiris and thus with funerary contexts and the watery northern sky.[50] But the picture is more complicated.

Female hippopotamus deities were usually portrayed as pregnant (or alternatively with large stomach and hanging breasts, reminiscent of those of the Nile Inundation god Hapi, which intended to make her look fecund). They stand on their hind legs and often had leonine paws. On their backs they have a dorsal ridge, sometimes clearly a crocodile, or a crocodile skin. Depictions vary, though the complete crocodile on the back is particularly common on Middle Kingdom wands and in northern sky depictions.

Sometimes hippopotami held a crocodile. The crocodile association is clearly watery and plausibly connected with the Inundation. Crocodiles are also present in descriptions of the northern sky in *Book of the Dead* 17 and in tombs, where they were said to inspire terror in sinners.[51] The crocodile link may help explain the sometime role of Taweret as an 'aggressive' goddess, akin to Ammut, the devourer. Crocodiles were also protective and in the Old and Middle Kingdoms were solar agents.[52] Other protective deities were shown wearing crocodiles (see this volume p. 17) and the British Museum even has a Roman Period crocodile 'suit of armour'.[53]

From the New Kingdom onwards, hollow Taweret/Ipet vessels are known. They either held milk, a rejuvenating liquid related to the deities' suckling role, or else water, mirroring the daemons' watery abodes.[54] Ipet of the northern sky was closely associated with the Inundation and the watery efflux of Osiris.[55] She was associated with the Egyptian constellation *Meskhetyu* (Msxtwy), which is usually assumed to be Draco in the northern sky, a constellation which is close to the Great Bear.[56] However, the earliest named depictions of a hippopotamus goddess in this context comes from the New Kingdom, where she was variously called Isis, or Isis-Djamet, or simply 'the Great hippopotamus'. *Djamet* may refer to the crocodile on her back.[57] It is not until later that she is called Ipet, though in one instance, at Esna, the hippo of the Great Bear is called *weret* (wrt, Great One) linking her with Taweret.[58]

As a watery place, the northern sky was a natural abode of hippopotami. The hippopotamus goddess on the astronomical ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI, named as Isis, holds a bull's leg, representing Seth, with a chain of white gold. This image continues into the Ptolemaic Period and relates to her role in stopping the water of the gods in the northern sky falling and in aiding the rebirth of Osiris. In the Roman Period Ipet was linked with Nut, the sky goddess also associated with the Inundation.[59] Hippopotami were 'water pigs' to the Egyptians, while Nut had a sow form. By the Graeco-Roman Period there were cult centres to Taweret and to Ipet-Nut. She is often shown with her hands on a mooring post, or occasionally a knife or a pot (perhaps of water). Not only does she have breasts and a stomach like the Nile god Hapi, but on one relief from the Brooklyn Museum the name of Hapi is placed next to her.[60]

As for Taweret, purification basins were dedicated to her as 'pure of water', or 'the purifier'.[61] Taweret's epithet 'Taweret, Mistress of Heaven, She who removes water' might relate to her role in amniotic fluid, or else to the Inundation in the northern sky, or on the earth.[62]

As a night sky goddess, Ipet sometimes wore the headdress of full moon inside crescent.[63] While Taweret tended to be shown with only the modius headdress, a flat cylindrical headdress worn by royal women, at times she wore the solar disk and cow horns. For example, she wears the solar disk and cow horns at Horemheb's Gebel Silsilah rock temple, where she is shown in human form suckling the king.[64] While Taweret was associated with the sa-sign, Ipet was associated with torches.[65] Ipet's link with torches recalled the night sky vigil of Osiris and the revival in the tomb as described in *Book of the Dead* 137 (p. 130, n. 69). It also associated her with the Eye of Horus. Alternatively, the torch-bearing might show a link between the hippopotamus, the Eye of Re and the myth of the *Return of the Distant Goddess* (p. 25).[66] However, Ipet and Taweret overlapped. On the funerary Papyrus of Any, an unnamed hippopotamus deity with *sa*-sign carries a torch to ward off evil and wears the solar headdress.[67]

Taweret was also connected with birth. At Thebes, an unnamed hippopotamus deity was connected to the birth of both the sun and kings. For example, two images of her are shown flanking the birth of the sun at Medinet Habu.[68] While she has no distinguishing headdress and is simply named 'Great God', the solar link suggests Taweret. On the Metternich stela (p. 48) Horus, who was brought up in the marshes, was said to have been reared by a 'sow and a dwarf'. This may have been Bes and Taweret or Bes and Ipet, as these are often paired and have marsh connections. However, as Horus is solar, this may suggest Taweret was intended. As a domestic deity of non-royals Taweret (named) featured alongside an acacia tree on a votive stela at Deir el-Medina. Acacia pods may have been connected with birth; they were certainly used for uterine complaints.[69]

So while there are distinctions between Taweret and Ipet, the differences are not clear-cut. Indeed, the Louvre statue described above combines three deities in one. As Taweret she is powerful and protects Horus, as Reret she fights with her voice and devours, and as Ipet she lives in the Horizon, protects the knife and decapitates enemies. It is also possible that the title 'Taweret' was originally simply an epithet of Ipet.

BIRTH BEDS, HIPPOPOTAMI AND DAEMONS: BED LEGS W2052A AND B

Sir Henry Wellcome purchased these two bed legs in 1906 from the collection of Robert de Rustafjaell.[70] They are made of wood, coated with plaster and painted. Both depict snakes. Their similarity suggests that both come from the same item of furniture. One shows Bes, frontal, but the area where the head should be is damaged; the other shows a standing hippopotamus, sideways on and without a headdress. The hippo may have traces of a crocodile on her back, though it is difficult to be sure. The hippopotamus leg measures 23.7cm high and the Bes bed leg 24.2cm. One is marked in blue pencil ‘Akhmim’, suggesting that it came from this area.[71]

Figure 11. *W2052a and b. Bed legs showing Bes and a hippopotamus daemon.*

Date of manufacture is unknown, though the link between Bes and the hippopotamus daemon began in the Middle Kingdom, when both appear on Middle Kingdom wands and on the Abydos birth brick (p. 29). The style is consistent with bed legs of the Ramesside Period.[72] There are also traces of both Bes and a hippopotamus deity on a Thirteenth Dynasty box (1795–*c*.1725 BC).[73] New Kingdom depictions of the pair in association with beds feature on divine birth scenes of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri and Amenhotep III at Luxor.[74] I know of no examples of both together on actual beds, though they do appear together on chairs of the king's daughter, Satamun *c*.1375 BC.[75] From about 1750 BC onwards, Bes and hippopotami occur together on headrests.[76] In all New Kingdom and later examples where the two are together, the hippopotamus is unnamed and without a distinguishing headdress.

The Egypt Centre's bed legs, like many others, are in the shape of lion legs. Just as the lion was symbolically associated with the rebirth of the sun, a lion-shaped bed induced refreshed awakening from sleep. To protect themselves from night-time threats, the Egyptians invoked deities such as Bes and the hippopotamus. The night-time link may suggest that Ipet would have been particularly appropriate; however, headrests, also concerned with night-time protection, are solar. Their shape, together with the head of the sleeper, represented the sun rising on the horizon.[77]

Alternatively, these legs could be from a purely funerary bed, of which there are several known examples. On stelae, lion beds are shown supporting the body of the deceased. Bes amulets and headrests decorated with Bes figures are found in tombs from the New Kingdom, though it is not always clear if these were once used in life or made especially for the tomb. There is evidence for a strong funerary role for Bes in the Late Period and by the Ptolemaic Period he was known as a protector of the dead.[78] Ipet's funerary associations are well known from the *Pyramid Texts*, where she protects and suckles the reborn king, just as Taweret was later to do for Horemheb.[79] Ipet was particularly connected with the revival of Osiris in the night sky and thus with rebirth, while Taweret was associated with birth, and thus rebirth.

Possibly, these legs may be part of a 'woman's bed' for giving birth and/or resting shortly after birth. Bes, Taweret and snakes, as shown on the Egypt Centre bed legs, were all associated with birth. At New Kingdom Deir el-Medina, decorated (painted?) 'women's beds' appear to have been

purchased along with birth amulets.[80] Unfortunately, we don't know what such beds were like. Ostraca usually show nursing women seated on stools, though there is at least one depiction of a bed.[81] There is often convolvulus in the background and sometimes snakes are depicted.[82] Women may be shown having their hair done and a mirror may be evident. Similar scenes appear in the front rooms of some houses at Deir el-Medina. These scenes might indicate some special area for birth or post-parturition recuperation, 'birth arbours' or 'maternity bowers'.[83] There are also model clay beds showing women, sometimes with a child.[84] On the clay models, the bed legs may take the form of Bes. As with the 'birth arbour' scenes, snakes are shown. However, only one complete full-size bed exists which depicts snakes; it is from the tomb of Iyneferti and her husband Sennedjem (TT 1). Here two snakes are shown painted on the bed frame, one on each side. The snake is presumably protective. While cobras were said to protect the sleeping, the snakes depicted with birth scenes and on these bed legs, and on the TT 1 bed do not appear to have cobra hoods.[85] The snake in the birth arbour scenes has been identified as a protective fertility snake by Brunner-Traut.[86]

So, the hippopotamus on the bed legs might be Ipet of the night-sky, Taweret of the solar sky, or perhaps even a fusion of both. The bed may be a woman's bed or a purely funerary bed. If a funerary bed, it seems most likely that the hippopotamus is Ipet. We should also remember that there are similarities between birth and rebirth, and so daemons would be expected to be similar in both contexts.[87]

AGGRESSIVE FEMALE HIPPOPOTAMI

The hippopotamus daemon was protective and motherly, but we have already seen how one hippopotamus figure is described as 'the power who fights for what belongs … who attacks with her voice and who devours … is adorned and decapitates those rebels against him'. In *Pyramid Text* 522 a daemon in hippopotamus form is a purveyor of disease. On some apotropaic wands the hippopotamus daemon bites or devours a person.[88] On a well-known New Kingdom papyrus, Taweret, who is named, is listed amongst evil daemons.[89] She also has militaristic associations.[90] An inscription on a

statue of a hippopotamus goddess in Aberdeen Anthropological Museum reads: ‘life and death are in her grasp’.[91]

Perhaps the most well-known aggressive female hippopotamus daemon was Ammut, the devourer, who may well be a reworking of Taweret/Ipet (pp. 42–3). We have seen that hippopotami were considered as ‘water pigs’. For the Egyptians, pigs were devouring animals.[92] Like Ammut, pigs also appear in judgement scenes.[93] However, devouring can be a means of regeneration. Nut, for example, devours her children before giving birth to them.[94]

I am unaware of any hippopotami, other than Ammut, appearing in judgement scenes. However, the northern sky scenes, such as that in the tomb of Seti I, show the god Seth, or his foreleg, tethered to a mooring post, and mooring posts were symbols of punishment. The hippopotamus takes control of the mooring post. This is not exactly judgment but rather a defeat of enemies, or a sacrifice, to make birth possible. It therefore seems as if the hippopotamus deity of the northern sky was involved in the destruction of enemies as a prerequisite of rebirth.

The Centre has several hippopotamus goddess amulets. But are they Taweret or Ipet, or neither, or both? Most amulets are found in funerary context.[95]

Figure 12. *Hippopotamus daemon amulet. Taweret or Ipet?*

BES, HARPOCRATES AND WATER (HORUS STELA AB110)

This object is 11.5cm high and made from steatite, a soft stone. It probably dates from the Late Period to the Graeco-Roman Period. The front shows Horus the Child standing on a crocodile, holding snakes and surmounted by the head of Bes. The reverse and sides have inscriptions that are too worn to read. This is a Horus stela or 'cippus' ('cippus' means 'stela') and was used for protection. It is thought that water poured over such items was given to sufferers to aid recovery.

AB110 was sent to a J. B. Williams in 1903 by Margaret Murray, together with a group of objects obtained from Abydos. We don't know if it came from the Abydos excavations or was purchased from a dealer there. J. B. Williams donated these artefacts to Aberystwyth University and in 1998 Aberystwyth passed them on to the Egypt Centre.

Horus stelae were found in the homes of both rich and poor. The earliest are New Kingdom in date and depict Horus the Saviour (Shed); however, some larger examples (30cm or more high) were placed in temple compounds, and a few are known from tombs. Most are dated to the sixth century BC onwards, and there are late survivals among Byzantine Christians. Early stelae are made of wood, but ours, like many others, is made of stone.

The front of AB110 shows Horus the Child (for which the ancient Egyptian is Hor-pachered, which transfers into the Greek equivalent, Harpocrates) standing naked on a crocodile and holding snakes in his hands, thus displaying victory over dangerous animals. While it is possible that the snakes are helping Harpocrates, he was known as a pacifier of animals and is shown on various stelae riding a chariot and attacking dangerous beasts.[96] The god wears 'the sidelock of youth', indicating childhood. It is assumed that the stela would enable the user to take the role of the triumphant Horus the Child

Above the head of Horus is a very much damaged head (or mask) of Bes. The association between Horus and Bes may have evolved out of New Kingdom Bes-type deities with wings. These are sometimes seen as precursors of the later Horus-Bes images in the form of Harpocrates-Bes. A bronze statue from Bahr el-Bakr dating to the Third Intermediate Period depicts a naked childlike body (Horus?) surmounted by a Bes head. Harpocrates-Bes figures recall earlier depiction of children with Bes masks, discussed later (p. 55).

Figure 13. *AB110. Cippus showing Bes head above Horus the Child.*

Bes and Horus were both masters of animals, protective and solar. Bes can be shown protecting and sometimes nursing the child god. The association between the two was so close that by the Late Period some terracotta figures show Bes with his finger to his mouth, that is, he was

shown as Horus the Child.[97] They complemented one another, with Horus as the youthful god and Bes sometimes known as the 'Old Man'.[98]

Bes was associated with lions, and not simply by his leonine appearance. A cosmetic jar of Tutankhamun shows wild animals and Bes heads each side of the jar.[99] On the top is a lion with tongue out. At least one stela shows Bes holding two lions and with two antelope by his legs.[100] Additionally, amulets of lions and Bes heads both became popular in the Third Intermediate Period. Bes may have gained an association with water because of his leonine connections. The lion head image was commonly used as a water spout on Egyptian temples.

Bes had strong water associations, which made him appropriate to Horus stelae. Some large Horus stelae from temples, for example the stela of Djedher the Saviour, from Athribis, now in the Cairo Museum, have basins to collect water.[101] Several stelae have spells against dangerous water animals. One of the most well known, the Thirtieth Dynasty (1795–*c*.1725 BC) Metternich stela in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, includes the story of Horus hiding in the marshes with his mother when Seth hunted him down.[102] On the same stela, Isis tells her son Horus that a 'sow and a dwarf' were his protectors, perhaps alluding to Bes and the hippopotamus.[103]

Bes's sometimes pendulous breasts may allude to the Nile god Hapi, although Bes's breasts, unlike Hapi's, could be used for suckling. Bes's watery connections in the Graeco-Roman Period are illustrated by terracottas showing Bes-Harpocrates riding a frog.[104] He and Beset are also shown in association with a frog on a probably Late Period piece now in Athens.[105] A depiction of priests sprinkling water while wearing ostrich feathers, has been said to show priests imitating Bes. There are also Graeco-Roman terracottas of Bes and Harpocrates with water pots. Perhaps less significant is the Bes on a Ptolemaic *sha*-basin (a form of ritual basin) from Naukratis. Usually it is Hathor who appears on such objects. Finally, there are Roman Bes figures as fountains.[106]

We have seen that Bes is often depicted on sistra, instruments which were said to sound like papyrus plants rustling in the marshes. And, we have seen how, from the Middle Kingdom, Bes was associated with a hippopotamus deity. Marshes are associated with procreation, another Bes characteristic. He is often depicted with lightly clad women, monkeys, etc.[107] He appears on Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasty votive beds depicting marsh

scenes.[108] Such votive beds seem associated with female rebirth and with the Inundation, the story of the *Return of the Distant Goddess*, and with Hathor and the plucking the papyrus ritual.[109] The Metropolitan Museum of Art has an amulet dating from the Twenty-seventh to Thirtieth Dynasties (525–380 BC) with a Bes head one side and Isis and Horus in the marshes on the other.[110]

The association of Bes with the watery tale, the *Return of the Distant Goddess*, may in part explain his association with Shu. Not only were both between heaven and earth and both held up the sky, but Shu was one of several deities credited with bringing back the Distant Goddess.[111] We have seen that during the New Kingdom Bes sometimes appeared foreign, possibly because of his association with the myth. By the Graeco-Roman Period, it was well known that Bes danced at the *Return of the Distant Goddess*.[112] A headrest in the British Museum dating to the New Kingdom shows Bes carrying an Eye on one side and Bes's head coming out of a lotus on the other.[113] An amulet in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston has Bes on one side and the Eye of Horus on the reverse (Boston 2.2263). The carrying of the Eye was associated with the return of the goddess.[114] Finally, Bes is associated with the gazelle, which in its turn has links with the myth.[115]

The Egypt Centre Horus stela has inscriptions on the reverse and sides. These are worn to the point of being unreadable. The unreadability may not have been important. Less care was taken over Horus stela inscriptions of the later periods, leading to the suggestion that in later times hieroglyphs on such stelae were largely symbolic.[116] Additionally, low levels of literacy would suggest that the reading of the inscriptions was never important for efficacy.[117]

Comparisons with other Horus stelae show that the inscriptions are protective spells against dangerous animals, particularly water animals, and that the speaker identifies him/herself with a host of deities.[118] The most complete list of spells occurs on the Metternich Stela. The spells generally derive from several sources but particularly from the myth concerning Harpocrates and his mother Isis hiding in the marshes. Horus was bitten but is cured by magic spells.

So how were Horus stelae used? One suggestion is that if water was poured over the stelae, Bes and Harpocrates, together with the magic spells, would impart healing powers to the water. Certainly larger versions were

provided with basins for water collection. The idea that it was the water which was efficacious is reinforced through a Horus stela depicted on a stone vase.[119] Additionally, the text on a statue in the Louvre states that the patient is 'this man who drinks this water'.[120]

Many stelae, including the one in Egypt Centre, are very worn. Perhaps sufferers rubbed and kissed them to absorb magical powers. Further evidence of their use comes from a stela spell which suggests that offering be made before the stela and that it be put at the throat of the sufferer.[121]

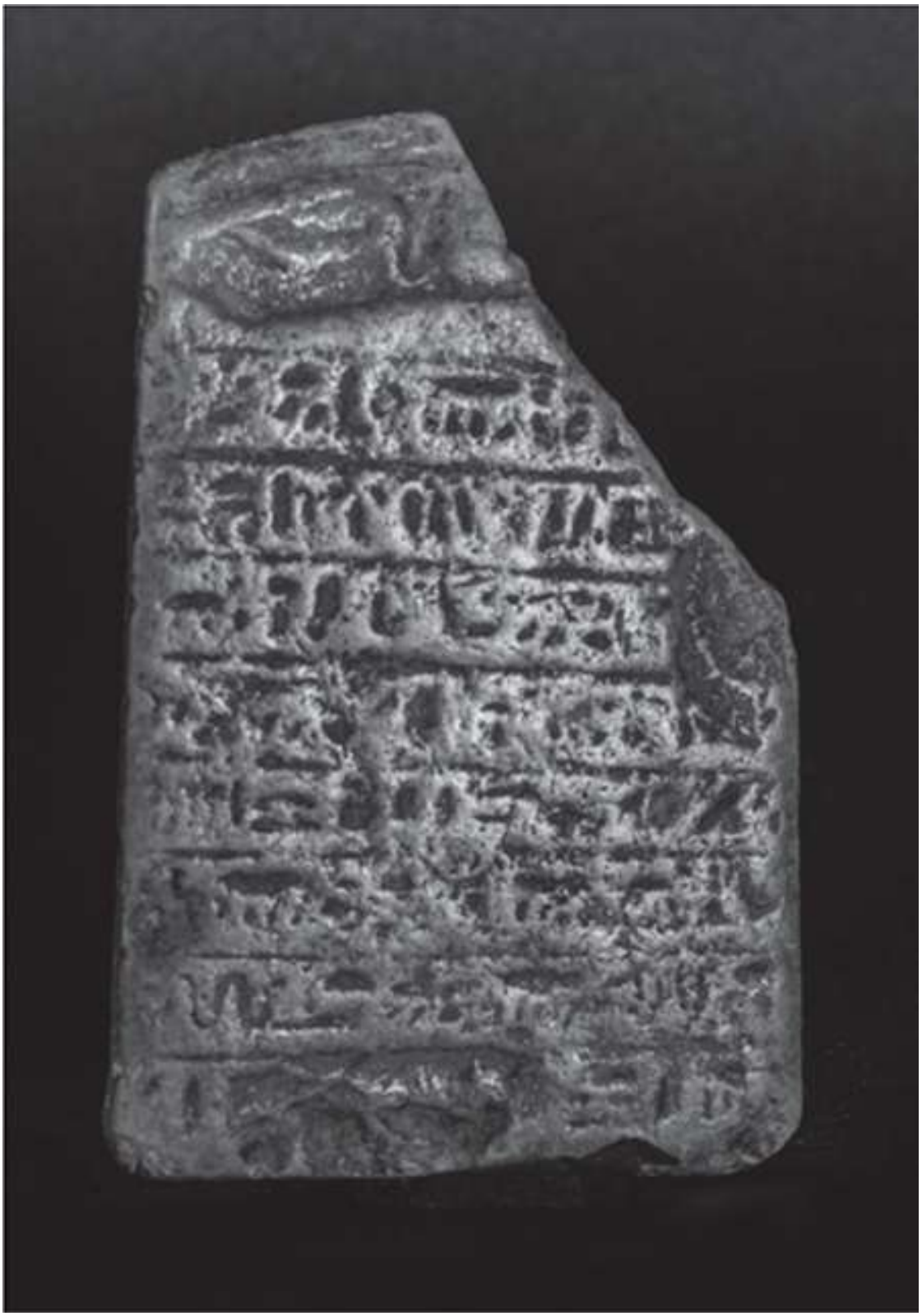


Figure 14. *Back of Horus stela.*

There is some suggestion that small stelae like AB110 were used by travellers.[122] A statue for use of passing caravans which was erected by Ramesses III included Horus stela texts.[123] Certainly they are found all over the ancient world, though they originated in Egypt.

WATER OR WINE? BES VESSELS EC257; EC546; W1283; W1702

The Egypt Centre has several vessels and parts of vessels which are commonly labelled 'Bes vessels'. Some show a face which is recognisably Bes, others are more debased. Such vessels begin to be made in the Second Intermediate Period and continue until the Graeco- Roman Period.[124]

It is not clear what these held. As Bes was closely connected with Hathor and the drunken celebrations surrounding the *Return of the Distant Goddess*, they may have contained alcohol. In the New Kingdom blue painted ware, possibly used for holding wine to serve at festivals, is sometimes decorated with applied heads of Bes. In the Graeco-Roman Period, Bes is shown holding wine cups and dancing with grapes, possibly because of his links with Greek satyrs. Alternatively, we have seen that Bes has water connections, so perhaps they contained water. Other suggestions have been made. Small examples are known to have held kohl, so larger examples holding perfumes seems possible.[125] Milk has also been suggested.

W1702

This fragment of pottery measures 9.5cm x 3.5cm x 8.2cm and has traces of blue paint. 'Deir el Medina' is written in blue on the reverse, though we do not know by whom. If this identification is correct, it dates to the New Kingdom.[126] The form was particular common in the Ramesside Period (1295–1069 BC), though it continues until a later date. Blue-painted vessels with applied Bes decoration have been found on other New Kingdom sites, for example Amarna.[127]

Figure 15. *W1702. Part of a pottery vessel showing Bes.*

EC257
This part of a faience vessel measures 7.5cm x 2.3cm x 5cm and shows part of the face of Bes. He wears a leopard skin draped over his shoulders with the head and feet of the skin joined by two arcs. He has a beard and moustache, a broad nose and flared nostrils. His mouth is open showing teeth and a sticking-out tongue.

The flaring nostrils, wide head, teeth and whiskers shown as long individual strands, each ending in a tight curls, and the leopard skin, suggest a Late Period date.[128] More specifically, similar vessels date to the first few decades of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (570–525 BC).[129] They may possibly have developed from earlier earthenware examples.

Figure 16. *EC257. Part of a faience Bes vessel.*

W1283

This highly stylised Bes vessel is made from marl clay (a whitish mixture of clay and lime) and is 13.2cm high. The type is found in Palestine as well as in Egypt, though this specific style was probably made in a single workshop at Saqqara.[130] It dates to the Ptolemaic Period. W1283 was part of the MacGregor Collection purchased by Henry Wellcome in 1922.[131]

EC546

This pottery vessel in marl fabric is 16.2cm high. This Late Period vase is the most stylised of the examples here. Bes is reduced to only his eyes. Such vessels are found in Palestine as well as in Egypt.[132]

EC546 was part of the Kennard Collection purchased by Henry Wellcome in 1912. Henry Martyn Kennard was a collector of Egyptian antiquities who

sponsored Flinders Petrie, so it is possible that this vessel came from one of Petrie's excavations.[133]

Figure 17. *W1283. Ptolemaic Period Bes vessel.*

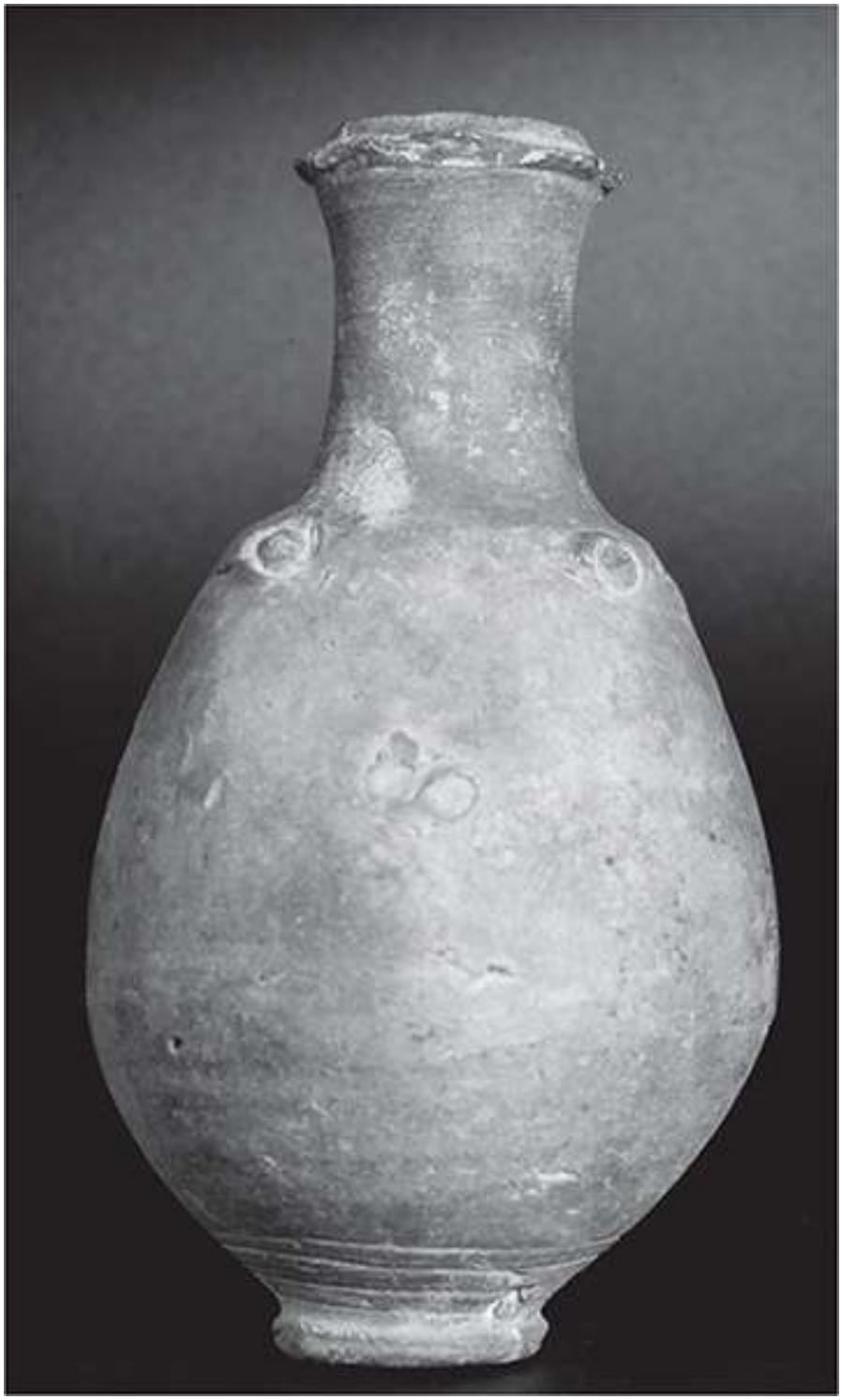


Figure 18. *EC546. Late Period Bes vessel.*

MASKING, TRANSFORMATION AND HEAD AMULETS, WK44 BES BELLS AND MASKS

This pale green faience bell measures 3.2cm in height and 2.6cm in radius. It is in the shape of a hollow hemispherical Bes-head crowned with feathers and with two holes, one for suspension and another for the tongue of the bell. The tongue itself is missing but was probably attached to the bell by means of a split-pin pushed through the hole at the top of the bell, below the handle.[134]

This bell is part of a loan from Woking College presented to the Egypt Centre in 2012. The list accompanying the objects dates WK44, possibly incorrectly, as Twenty-second Dynasty (945–715 BC). Light green faience items usually date to the Late and Ptolemaic Periods. That the bell is faience, and therefore unlikely to withstand vigorous shaking, suggests it was an amuletic item or perhaps an offering.

There are a few comparable faience bells that feature Bes. I know of one in the British Museum and one in the Carnarvon-Carter collection at Highclere Castle (H9).[135] Bronze bells, including Bes-headed examples, are more common than faience ones.[136] The Petrie Museum, for example, has several bronze bells similar in shape to WK44.[137] Flinders Petrie dated these from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to the Roman Period (664–30 BC).[138] The Petrie Museum also has faience bells without Bes-heads, dated to the Roman Period.[139] Plain bronze bells from the Fayum and Karanis, including miniature examples, date to the second to fourth centuries ad.[140] Deities other than Bes occasionally occur on bells.[141]

In the Egyptian world dogs, and possibly other animals, might also wear a bell around their neck, but these were also worn by people. Petrie suggested that in Egypt, as with the rest of the classical world, Bes bells were amuletic and worn around the necks of children for protection.[142] Indeed several bronze examples, either alone or on bracelets, have been found in burials of children and women.[143] The practise extended as far as Roman Britain. Bells are also found in sanctuaries as votives to female deities and on domestic sites in the classical world. Not all were functional.[144]

In several cultures bells are used to ward off evil. As early as the 5th century BC, Roman writers said that the sound of bells frightened evil deities and some Graeco-Roman bells are decorated with phalli, another apotropaic

symbol.[145] The protective nature of these bells is reinforced by Egyptian examples held in the British Museum and Cairo Museum which have not only Bes, but also other animals such as lizards (as though to protect against such dangerous things) upon them.[146]

Figure 19. *WK44. Faience Bes bell.*

DETACHED HEADS OR MASKS?

Apart from bells and Horus stelae, there are other artefacts that show the detached head of Bes. These include amulets, mirrors and vases.[147] The head was naturally considered important; in the case of Bes, its importance may have been related to the large heads of some forms of dwarfism. Other pharaonic deities, with the obvious exceptions of Hathor and deities shown in the form of a protective aegis amulet, tend to be shown with their whole body.[148]

Hathor and Bes are both shown facing front. This may be associated with liminality or the power of the Eye. Eyes would have an actual effect on the subject of the gaze (p. 18).

The fact that an actual Bes mask exists, plus depictions of masked Bes-like figures, suggests that the detached head might have been a consequence of costumed humans representing Bes.[149] This is supported by the tail-holding characteristic of several New Kingdom Bes figures.[150] If one is costumed a long tail might be restrictive, hence the need to keep hold of it. A 'real' deity, one might expect, could control a tail without holding it. While of course Egyptian depictions were not mirrors of reality, neither were they totally divorced from it. Additionally, tail-holding is reminiscent of Middle Kingdom *sem*-priests performing rituals of transition.[151]

Indeed, Bes is often shown wearing the spotted feline skin of the *sem*-priest and, like the *sem*, is often turned to the right. The spotted skin in itself was associated with stars and thus possibly alluded to the *Duat*. Sometimes a cape of stars was substituted for the leopard-skin cape of the *sem*-priest. In the Old Kingdom, some elite coffins had a leopard skin carved in relief on the lid and Middle Kingdom coffins were sometimes draped with such a skin.

Costumed activities may be dismissed as mere role play and mask wearing as unimportant. Superficially, the theological effect of mask wearing and the presence of the actual deity could be the same; both could act as conduits of power.[152] However, masking raises several important issues. The question of indwelling has been considered significant, though studies have little reference to masks. In ritual performance the performer acts with the authority of the god, and the god is the agent.[153] Masking is therefore related to the question of divine agency, to be discussed in the chapter on quasi-daemons. Masks enable crossing from one sphere to another, thus reminding us of the mutability of Egyptian being and the importance of the hidden in

transformation. It also adds to understanding of the technologies of transformation.

In some cultures, masking protects from the dangers of the liminal realm, and Bes is associated with liminality. Bes appears on birth artefacts (apotropaic wands, a birthing stool, etc.), on artefacts associated with sleep (dreamers are between worlds) and in areas associated with death and transition to death. He was associated with music and musicians, who also had transformative powers (this volume pp. 40–41), and with female adolescents, who, in the New Kingdom, tend to be musicians. Adolescence could be regarded as a liminal state.[154] Bes, or at least a lion-headed figure, appears in scenes plausibly linked to puberty rites. Finally, he was associated with the story of the *Return of the Distant Goddess*, a story conceivably associated with a time of transition, female adolescence, and linked with a major seasonal transitional period, the annual Inundation of the Nile.

The transformative and unifying action of the hidden seems to run through pharaonic Egypt (p. 126, n. 1). The masking of the dead enables their becoming divine and unifies their self.[155]

There is strong evidence for masking of the living in the form of Anubis masks.[156] The earliest pharaonic masks were leonine in form and may or may not be an ancestor of Bes-types. A Fifth Dynasty (*c.*2400 BC) relief in the British Museum shows a lion-headed adult figure holding clappers (associated with Hathor) in one hand and his tail in the other, in the context of a dance with children in marshland.[157] This scene has been interpreted as a puberty rite, or a scene associated with a *sed*-festival, a festival of the renewal of kingship.[158]

Both are festivals of transition. Above the figure is written xb.t jn SdXt, translated as ‘dance of the SdXt youth’.[159] Another Fifth Dynasty relief in Leipzig shows an androgynous figure wearing a mask in the context of a *sed*-festival and a statuette with oversized phallus and lion-mask from a Fifth Dynasty tomb rests in Berlin.[160] That these are masked human figures is reinforced by the fact that deities were rarely depicted in Old Kingdom tombs.

Then there are statuettes of boys wearing Bes-type masks, for example the Middle Kingdom ivory figure from Sedment.[161] The female Ramesseum wooden figure of the late Middle Kingdom (Manchester 1790) may be masked.[162] It has lines on the cheeks, something also seen on other Bes

representations. These may be jowls or may indicate a partial face mask covering the upper part of the face. There are anthropological parallels for the use of models of masked figures in rituals, demonstrating that a masked statuette is not, as has been sometimes claimed, a redundant ritual figure.[163]

The New Kingdom tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) shows three figures with pendulous breasts wearing lion masks involved in a Hathoric rite.[164] These appear to be either androgynous or overweight males. Their masks appear to modern observers as transparent over their heads. There is also a Bes-headed figure of the first century BC to the first century ad in the British Museum which has a standard human body without a paunch and wears a kilt.[165] The human dimensions of the body, together with the flattened face, suggest a masked figure. There are also depictions of masked Bes figures from outside Egypt.[166]

Of the actual evidence for masks themselves, there is the so-called 'Bes' mask found in a house in the workmen's village at el-Lahun. The mask itself is now in Manchester Museum and is certainly leonine.[167]

Near this mask was found a wooden figure with what was clearly a Bes head and tail. The object is now lost.[168] The publication shows a line dividing body from head, supporting the masked figure interpretation. The drooping breasts might indicate a female or a fat male priest, like those in Kheruf's tomb discussed above. Alternatively, if one believes this depicts a divinity, rather than a human impersonating a divine figure, it could be a fecund male figure like Hapi.

There are two possible Bes masks, both from Deir el-Medina.[169] The excavator assumed the masks had decorated a raised platform in the house. These are life-size clay Bes heads. Unfortunately, the publication doesn't show the backs and their present location is unknown. They could either be masks or Bes-heads.

By the Graeco-Roman Period, Bes masks seem to have been similar to satyr masks and associated with the 'grotesque'. The importance of the dwarf aspect of Bes and other deities, together with the 'grotesque', is discussed more thoroughly in the final chapter (pp.135–8).

Finally, it could be that Bes heads are related to beheaded deities. In texts from the earliest times, but particularly from the late New Kingdom, the losing and regaining of a head is associated with transformation, rebirth, solarisation and sexual virility (p. 92).[170] By the Graeco-Roman Period, Bes

was associated with the headless Osiris, Akephalos theos, and Bes-Akephalos was associated with oracles. Osiris and Bes could be shown as ithyphallic and were linked to powers of creation and transformation. Bes himself was called 'the headless one' in Graeco-Egyptian magical texts concerning dream oracles.[171] Chapter 163 of a Ptolemaic *Book of the Dead* (Turin 179155) states that a spell to stop harm to the body, including beheading, should be said in front of a drawing which includes a person holding a Bes head.

Finally, I consider a daemon who was largely a product of the Graeco-Roman Period, the Agathodaimon. The object on which he appears in the Egypt Centre actually shows a syncretisation of several greater gods with lesser known deities, illustrating the problem of separating greater gods from daemons.

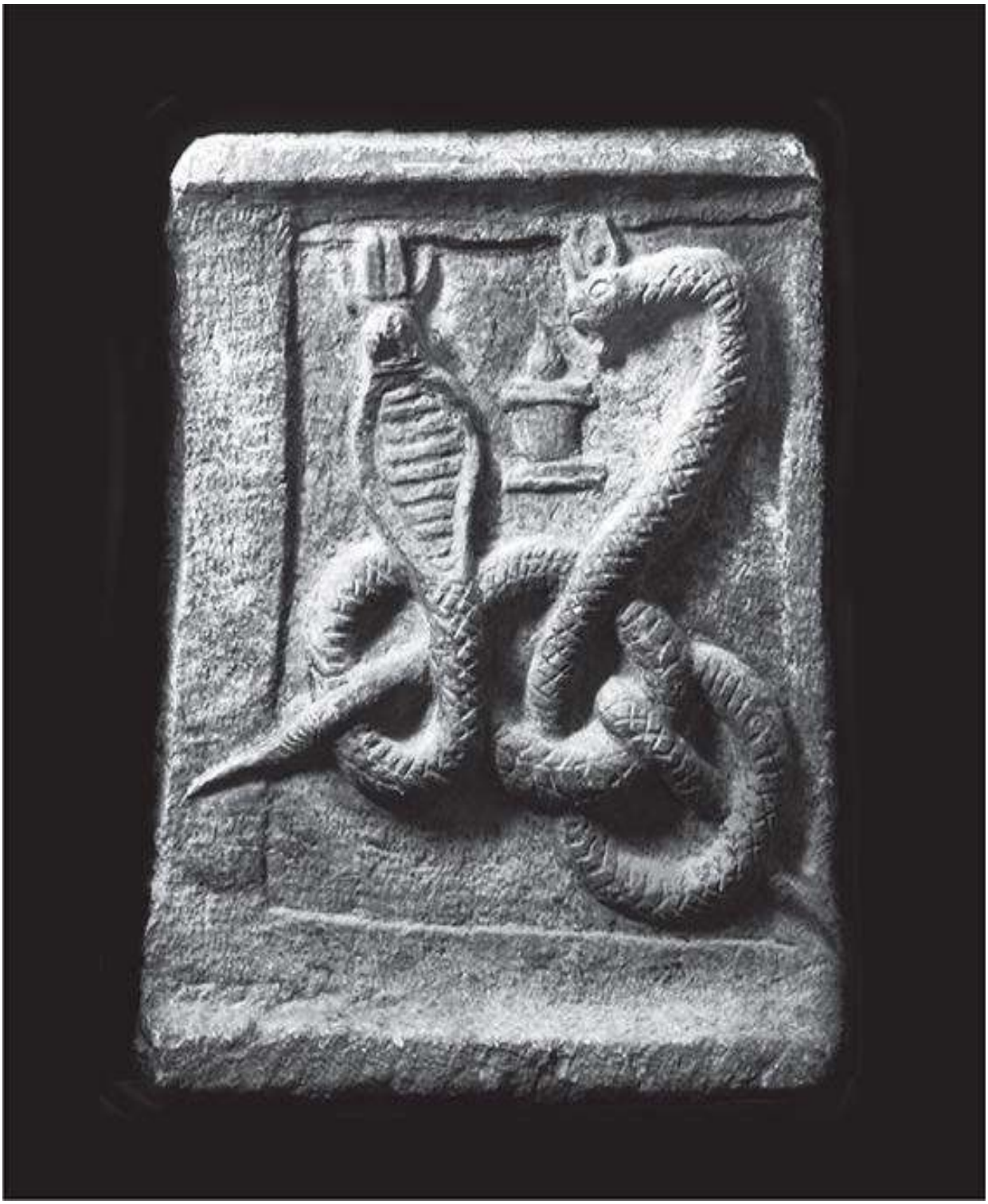


Figure 20. *W56. Isis-Thermouthis (with elements of Agathe Tyche) and on the right Serapis (with elements of the Agathodaimon).*

W56 is a stone slab measuring 33cm x 35cm x 9cm. It has the appearance of a door-jamb. This item was bought from E. Hatoun in Cairo on February 1931 by one of Sir Henry Wellcome's employees, Captain P. Johnston-Saint. There was an Elias Hatoun operating as a dealer at this time in Sharia al-Muski, Cairo.[172] Presumably it was he who sold the relief to Wellcome.

Two snakes are depicted within a naos (a type of shrine). The one on the right has a beard and wears the *atef* crown, the one on the left a crown of the sun-disk between horns. Between them is a kalathos (grain measure) with a corn ear. They represent a mix of various deities. On the left is Isis-Thermouthis (with elements of Tyche) and on the right Serapis (with elements of the Agathodaimon).

Paired serpent deities have a long history in ancient Egypt.[173] The male god, the one on the right, has a human head; there were several serpent deities with male human heads in Graeco-Roman Egypt. These may be associated with the Egyptian daemon Shai.[174] Indeed, Greek translations of the Agathodaimon name include the name of Shai. Shai was associated with fate and often appeared in weighing of the heart scenes (see this volume pp. 83–5). As he did not seem to have cult-centre of his own, he could be classed as a daemon. Into this mix comes Serapis.

Serapis was a composite god combining the Egyptian god Osorapis (himself a combination of Osiris and Apis) with the attributes of Greek gods such as Zeus and Dionysos.[175] He also resembled the Greek god of the underworld, Pluto, or Hades. Serapis is first known in the time of Alexander the Great (323 BC) and under Ptolemy I had his cult centre at the Serapeum in Alexandria.[176] Serapis presented as a serpent also embodies the idea of the Greek Agathodaimon, protector of the home and guarantor of the fertility of the land.[177]

Thermouthis/Renenutet was Shai's female companion. Isis-Thermouthis combines Isis with the cobra goddess Renenutet (Greek Thermouthis). Renenutet was a protector of the king and the harvest. Under Amenemhat II and IV, a temple was built for her at Medinet Madi (Greek Mouthis), where she was known as Thermouthis (Lady of Mouthis). As a corn goddess she was associated with Osiris in his youthful form, and was thus identified with Isis. Thermouthis was identified by the Greeks with Agathe Tyche, a goddess of fortune and fate and thus linked with Shai, though she appears to

have first been depicted in snake form by the Egyptians.[178] At Medinet Madi, Isis is praised in the names of both Thermouthis and Agathe Tyche.[179]

Isis was the consort of Serapis-Agathodaimon and the two came to embody the forces of male and female fertility. They are sometimes paired on door jambs as human-headed serpents. The daemons also had links with the royal family, the Agathodaimon being associated with the king. Finally, the two entwined snakes probably symbolised the divine union, paired deities associated with the flood and the bringing about of fertility.[180]

From 30 BC, when the Romans conquered Egypt, the cults of Isis and Serapis spread to the farthest corners of the Roman Empire, even to northern Britain.

We have seen in the Egypt Centre a selection of very different daemons, from the Middle Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman Period. The next chapter deals with the closely related entities, the spirits of the dead.

FIVE
SPIRITS OF THE DEAD

THE DEAD AND DAEMONS were akin, with both being sometime inhabitants of the *Duat*, both being divine and both lesser than the greater gods. The word *akh* (plural: *akhw*), often translated as 'blessed dead', not only referred to a type of daemon, but developed into the general Coptic word for daemon, while the Greeks classified some souls of the dead as daimōns (δαίμονες).[1]

Spirits of the dead, like daemons, are subject to debate, though the following is largely agreed: the mummified body was a place for the 'soul' to rest, and the non-body elements of the deceased, loosely translated as 'soul', consisted of two main parts, the *ka* (plural *kaw*), and the *ba* (plural *baw*).[2] If the proper rites were performed, the deceased became one of the blessed or justified dead, an *akh*. Gods too had a *ba*, a *ka* and an *akh*. If the rites were not carried out, the dead might continue to exist, but simply as *mwtw* (singular *mwt*). Both *mwtw* and *akhw* could be annihilated through rituals.[3]

We might wonder if the Egyptians believed in a 'death daemon', an *active* personification of death. Such daemons exist cross-culturally.[4] There are Egyptian references to personified death; for example, a New Kingdom document known as the *Instruction of Any* can be translated as follows: 'When death comes he steals the infant, Who is in his mother's arms, Just like him who reached old age.'[5] There is no iconographic portrayal of such 'death daemons' and no evidence suggesting that they had independent powers; they are probably literal personifications.

However, there is one extraordinary exception. A Twenty-first Dynasty (1069–945 BC) funerary papyrus of a Chantress of Amun called Henuttawy depicts a tethered winged serpent with four legs and two heads. At the neck-end is a bearded human; at the tail is a jackal's head.[6] Its wings enfold a sun-

disk containing a scarab and stars surrounding the creature suggest it lives in the *Duat*. The accompanying inscription identifies it as *mwt pA nTr aA nTr:w rmT.w* – 'Death, the great divinity who made gods and men'.[7]

MWTW, AKHW AND OTHER SPIRITS

To return to the focus of this chapter, two main types of dead were mentioned in texts, *mwt* (mwt) and *akh* (Ax). Other groups were less common, though it is not always clear if they were explicit groups or overlapped.

Whether the dead were *mwtw* or *akhw* depended on their relationship with the living, so that a spirit could be a *mwt* to one living person and an *akh* to another. The *akhw* were those who received particular rites. The word *akh* derives from the word meaning 'to be effective' but has connotations of light and luminosity and it has been suggested that *akh* most closely relates to the English 'spirit', since the *akhw* could interact with the living.[8] *Mwt* was sometimes used as a general noun meaning any/all dead and simply means 'dead one'. The word was seemingly taboo, so is not used in funerary spells. To write (or to depict) something encouraged it into being, and the desire was to become *akhw*.[9]

Both *mwtw* and *akhw* could enter living bodies through the eyes or other organs, where they might cause physical and mental ailments, including nightmares and headaches.[10]

A spell against headaches asks both *mwtw* and *akhw* not to cause harm:

> Oh male adversary (DAy), [female adversary (DAy.t), male ghost (Ax), female ghost (Ax.t) be far from [me(?) …] oh dead man (mwt), dead woman (mwt.t), without coming (?). He will not go forth with face forward, with limbs as [sound] limbs, since his heart is destined for the Evening Meal of the one in the act of striking.[11]

Protection from the dead included laxatives, charms and spells, fumigations and diuretics.[12] The Egypt Centre contains many objects imbued with magical protection.

The *Book of Going Forth by Day* (often called the *Book of the Dead*) contains spells enabling the *akhw* to go out during the day. *Mwtw* could do the same. Spells from a magico-medical papyrus conjure protection of the

house against *mwtw* and *khefetyu* (enemies), to ensure that they do 'not come for him in the night, by day or at any time'.[13]

In *Pyramid Text* 93 *mwtw* attack other deceased persons. They could also send servants to carry out evil on their behalf.[14] While *mwt* could be written with the classifier either of a man with blood pouring from his head or a man with an axe to his head, there were no pictures of *mwtw* until the New Kingdom. They first appear, nude and genderless, decapitated and in the company of other damned groups such as *khefetyu* and *djayu*, in afterlife books which decorated tomb walls.[15] In Egyptological literature it is often assumed that all decapitated and/or nude figures are *mwtw*, even when not labelled.

To become an *akh*, one had to be associated with the greater gods, particularly Osiris, and it is sometimes claimed that, in early periods of Egyptian history, only the king could do this. However, *Coffin Texts* from a securely dated Sixth Dynasty (2345–2181 BC) context prove that by the end of the Old Kingdom at the latest, Osirian afterlife had been extended to commoners.[16]

Some Egyptologists claim the deceased had actually to become Osiris, the two merging into one. Others say the dead were in the following of Osiris.[17] Whether the dead became divine through symbolic/ritual union or mystical/actual union, rituals performed by the living together with knowledge on the part of the deceased was crucial.

Ideally, the son or heir performed the rites collectively known as *sakhw*, literally meaning 'to make an *akh*'. Often judgement was invoked, and of course it was important to enact transformation (glorification) rites and offer food and other provisions for an Otherworld life. By the Sixth Dynasty (2345–2181 BC), private tombs included texts relating to being an excellent *akh* and having knowledge of secrets. One reads: 'I am an able *akh* and I know everything by means of which one may become as *akh* in the necropolis.'[18] That knowledge could include the names of guardians of Otherworld gates or mounds, as knowing a name meant control over the named. Knowledge of spells from afterlife books was also necessary. It is often stated that the *ba* and *ka* and the body must be unified to ensure the *akh*'s continued existence.[19] However, to complicate matters, in some texts the *ba* substitutes for the *akh*.

OTHER HOSTILE DEAD

As well as *mwtw* and *akhw*, other groups of the dead threatened the living. The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, of the Second Intermediate Period, lists a spell against male and female *mwtw* and *akhw* as well as those taken by crocodiles, those stung by snakes and one who has died in his bed or perished 'by the knife'.[20]

For most of Egyptian history, the reason for such hostility is unclear.[21] However, by the Greek Period, spells were placed in the tombs of those who had suffered violent deaths to act against their vengeful spirits.[22] A first century Egyptian priest explained that the souls of individuals who had violent deaths stuck close to the body and sorcerers could use these for their own ends.

W867

Copies of the *Book of the Dead*, whether on tomb walls, papyri, or bandages, would accompany the deceased to ensure eternal performance of rituals. A fragment of the *Book of the Dead* held by the Egypt Centre, W867, illustrates several rites necessary to becoming an *akh*. This is a Late Dynastic to Ptolemaic Period papyrus measuring 54cm x33.5cm, on which is written the hymn to the rising sun, Spell 15 of the *Book of the Dead*.[23] It is part of a scroll which belonged to Ankh-Hapi, son of Pa-Khered-en-Min and Ta-di-Aset.[24] Other pieces survive elsewhere.[25]

Today, mummification with bandages is popularly believed to have been so integral to ancient Egyptian culture that museum visitors expect mummies on display. However, this was largely an elite practice, with poorer persons being at best mummified naturally by the drying desert sands. Mummification began as early as 4300 BC, though processes varied through time and between social classes.[26] Ankh-Hapi would most certainly have been wrapped in bandages and mummified; indeed, his mummified body is shown on the papyrus.

At the far left of the papyrus we see Re enthroned, with offerings set before him. In front of his offering table is the pointed roof of the tomb. Tombs were not built like this after the Ramesside Period (1295–1069 BC), though they would have been recognised as such in later times. An enclosure

in front of the tomb contains yet more offerings and to its right two pointed obelisks stand side-by-side. They represent the sun-god and at certain periods of Egyptian history were said to have the god within them. To their right is a round-topped stela, which would have had a dedication to the deceased. There then follows a figure who is either the jackal-headed god Anubis or a masked priest. He holds up the mummy of Ankh-Hapi to receive various rites including purification, the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony and solar illumination.[27]

Figure 21. *W867. A fragment of the* Book of the Dead *belonging to Ankh-Hapi.*

Mummies were propped up in front of stelae in tomb courtyards and illuminated by the sun. This rite, which gained popularity from the New Kingdom onwards, allowed the solar rays to quicken or revive earthly bodies. It was also performed on temple statues. The sentiment is mirrored by an Egypt Centre coffin fragment which also draws upon the iconography of Spell 15 (see W648, pp. 91–3). While the mummy may have been set up at midday, the accompanying spell is the hymn to the rising sun and the

courtyard was symbolically in the East, so perhaps the ceremony took place at daybreak.[28]

A mourning woman kneels before the mummy and behind her stands a priest pouring libations of purifying water towards it. Ritual purity was essential for becoming an *akh*. To the right of this priest is a small shrine heaped with implements used in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. The adze, on top of the heap, sometimes symbolised the whole ritual. Tellingly, the word for 'adze' was *netjerty*, from the root *netjer* ('divinity') and this ceremony was designed to divinise the mummy.[29] A standing priest holds two other Opening of the Mouth implements in the direction of the mummy.

To the right of him stands another priest holding an unrolled scroll and wearing a headdress of two ostrich feathers. He is the lector priest, responsible for chanting or reading from sacred texts and he sometimes acted as an oracle. The feather headdress was worn by lector priests from the Third Intermediate Period and gave rise to the application of the term 'wing-wearer' (Greek *pterophorus*) to the priests.

Behind the lector priest stands another priest who makes libations over a table of offerings, thus ensuring provisions for the deceased. To the far right is a ghastly scene. The foreleg of a still living calf is severed as its mother watches. Still warm, the leg would be presented to the deceased, transmitting the *ka*-force, the life-force of the unfortunate animal.[30] The calf may also represent the god Seth, who had to be punished before eternal life was possible.

This particular piece was sold to Henry Wellcome in a Sotheby's sale of 1932, having originally been in the hands of an unknown collector from 1830.[31]

PROVISIONING THE DEAD, OFFERING FORMULA AND STELAE

Rituals ensured that the dead reached the afterlife and were provided for once there. Vehicles for provisioning included:

- Spells written on papyri, tomb walls or coffins
- Items with the offering formula written thereon (mainly stelae)
- The living reciting the offering formula (the Voice Offering)
- Real food, drink, boats, etc.
- Models or pictures of food, drink, vessels, etc.

We cannot be sure if these provisions were considered physical, spiritual or metaphorical.

OFFERING FORMULA

The beginning of the offering formula appears on many museum items. It reads *hetep di nesu*, ‘an offering which the king gives’. The first sign, above the plant-like glyph, is the sign for *nesu*, king. The king was called upon to give offerings on behalf of his people, since only he could intercede on their behalf with the gods. The two signs in the middle, one above the other, read *hetep* meaning offering, derived from the word meaning ‘to be satisfied’. The lowermost glyph is an offering mat with a bread upon it. The triangular sign on the right is *di*, meaning to give. The full offering formula then asks various gods, usually Anubis and Osiris, to provide for the deceased. Bread and beer were nearly always included. The person’s name is included to help ensure their continued existence. The offering formula functioned through being either written down or recited orally.

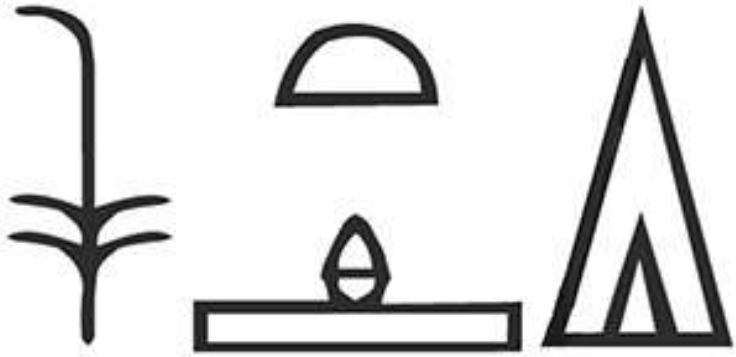


Figure 22. *Simplified offering formula.*

Figure 23. *W481. Pottery offering tray.*

OFFERING TRAYS

Clay offering trays or tables such as this were roughly made of Nile silt. A great number were excavated by Flinders Petrie at Rifeh and date from the late First Intermediate Period to the Middle Kingdom.[32] Such items were often exposed on the surface of graves, though some were protected by superstructures.[33] Occasionally, offering trays have been found on domestic sites, for example at Abydos and Askut.[34] The trays contain various foodstuffs modelled in clay, often a cow head, a bundle of onions and bread. Channels allowed libations to run off.

While the Egyptologist Flinders Petrie traced the development of food trays to the more elaborate soul houses, it is now believed that there is no

chronological difference between the two.[35]

The example with the four staircases on display in the Egypt Centre (W484) probably represents the courtyard or a cistern of a house (fig. 25). It could provide the dead with water.

The next two items, being stone, represent the same idea but were made for the elite.

Figure 24. *W484. Pottery cistern.*

OFFERING TABLES

W1015

Stone offering tables such as this were placed in the public areas of tombs from about the Second Intermediate Period. Like the clay trays, these were vehicles for libations, ensuring provisioning of the dead.

The piece measures 38cm x 38cm and is part of the Wellcome Collection. On stylistic grounds it dates from Ptolemaic or Roman times. The round items are loaves, placed between two libation or *hes* vases (for *hes*-vases see p. 81).

EC710 OFFERING TABLE FRAGMENT

This fragment of a rectangular offering table measures 295 x 180 x 33mm and depicts a bird and two loaves of bread between a *hes*-vase and an ewer. The two vessels are connected by representations of water (zig-zag lines) to a bowl. The style suggests a Graeco-Roman date.

The item was bought by Henry Wellcome at the auction of Rustafjaell material on 9 December 1907.

Figure 25. *W1015. Stone offering table.*

Figure 26. *EC710. Fragment of a stone offering table.*

1588

Figure 27. *W1041. Offering stela from Edfu.*

OFFERING STELAE

W1041

This wooden funerary stela is covered with plaster over which is painted an offering formula. It measures 59cm high and formed part of the MacGregor Collection, which was bought by Henry Wellcome at auction on 26 June 1922. It was given the Wellcome accession number 13713.[38]

It calls upon various gods, in this case Horus of Edfu, Osiris, Isis, Hathor and Anubis, to ensure that the dead person received bread, beer, beef, geese, incense and 'all things sweet pure and good on which a god lives'. Such stelae belonged only to the wealthy. This example was made for Pashrinyemhotep, an army scribe and overseer of priests in the temple of Horus at Edfu. It is probably first century ad in date.[39]

Front: the upper section shows the winged sun-disk here associated with the falcon god Horus of Edfu. From the disk hang two snakes representing the deities Nekhbet and Wadjet, of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively. Between them is the inscription *BHdt*, 'The Behdetite' (Horus of Edfu). A legend tells how Nubians plotted against Re. Horus of Edfu flew up in the shape of a winged sun-disk and shone so fiercely that the rebels were blinded and killed each other in panic. In this shape Horus pursued and decapitated Seth.[40]

Below, the deceased lies on a lion bed and the dog/jackal-headed god Anubis, or a masked priest, performs revivication rites. Anubis is helped by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys and by the Four Sons of Horus, whose names are written above them. The latter are discussed in the next chapter. On the right, the deceased, dressed as a priest and restored to life, holds up his hands in worship.

The inscription starts with the offering formula, addressed to Horus of Edfu, and lists Pashrinyemhotep's many priestly titles. These include a priest of Horus the Child and of Amun, chief libation priest of Sekhmet, overseer of Selket, overseer of priests of Horus of Edfu, etc.

More specifically the offering formula reads:

Line 1:

....Hr BHdt nTr aA nb pt sAb Swt pr m Axt Hr – Axty hnty st wrt Wsir xnty aImntyw nb AbDw

Horus of Edfu, the great god, lord of the sky, variegated of plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, Harakhty, he who is before the great throne of Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos

Line 2:

nTr aA nb dDw Hr Wp-Sat – tAwy Wsir nTr aA n BHdt aIwn wr n BHdt Ast wrt Hnwt n BHdt snt Hry aib AbDw

the great god, lord of Busiris, Horus the illuminator of the two lands, Osiris the great god of Edfu, the great pillar of Edfu, Isis the great one, mistress of Edfu, the magician who dwells in Abydos

Line 3:

Hwt-Hr Hnwt aImntyw aInpw nb mAaty m wsxt mAatyw aInpw imy-wt nb tA Dsr aInpw xnty sH-nTr

Hathor, mistress of the Westerners, Anubis, Lord of the two truths in the Hall of the true, Anubis, he who is in his *Wat*, lord of the sacred land, Anubis, he who is foremost of the divine booth

Line 4:

di.sn prt xrw t Hnqt kAw Apdw snTr Hr sDt ht nb nfr wab bnr anx(w) nTr aim.sn qrs nfr

that they may give voice offerings of bread, beer, beef, geese, incense on the flame, and all things good, pure and sweet, from which a god lives, a goodly burial

Line 5:

iwaw.f mnw Hr nst.f kA n Wsir Hm Hr sHtp Hm.s aHA(?) nb mAa-xrw Hm nsw bity smsw hAyt n Hr BHdty nb pt

his heirs abiding in his seat, for the ka of the Osiris, the sHtp Hm.s priest, the combatant of the lord of truth, the servant of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the elder of the Portal of Horus of Edfu, lord of the sky

Line 6:

wAH xt nTr n BHdt sS mSa sS hwt-nTr Hm-nTr snw Hr-pA-Xrd Hm-nTr Imn n Sna Hry wabw sxmt imy-r srqt wdpw Hry tp (?)

he who sacrifices to the gods of Edfu, the scribe of the army, second scribe of the temple, priest of Horus the Child, the great god, and of Amun of the storehouse, chief *wab*-priest of Sekhmet, overseer of Selket, chief butler

Line 7:

sS mDAt nTr (iry?) Hat imy-r Hmt-nTr n Hr BHdt nTr aA nb pt pA-Sri-(n)y-m-Htp mAa-xrw Sr Wsir

scribe of the divine book, the guardian of the prow, overseer of priests of Horus of Edfu, the great god, lord of the sky, Pashrinyemhotep, true of voice, child of Osiris

Line 8:

sA n Hm-nTr A n Hr BHdty Hr-sA-Ast mAa-xrw ir(w) n nbt pr Hry nst.s TA-Ast mAa-xrw mn sp-sn wAH sp-sp nq Dt

Son of the third priest of Horus of Edfu, Horus the son of Isis, true of voice, born of the mistress of the house, she who is in her place, the sistrum player, Ta-Isis, true of voice, may he last, may he last, may he endure, may he endure, without destruction for ever.

The chief *wab*-priest, or pure-priest was not necessarily a high rank.[41]

The phrase 'true of voice' indicates that the deceased has successfully undergone judgement.

The lowest section shows Osiris incorporated into a *djed* pillar which is flanked by two Anubis figures in jackal form seated on shrines. During the New Kingdom, the *djed* pillar came to represent the back bone of Osiris and stability. The deceased wished to be identified with Osiris, who was brought back to life through mummification carried out by Anubis.

Back: This stela was free-standing and therefore decorated on the reverse. The back shows Isis (right) and Nephthys (left) squatting, with hands raised in worship of Osiris (centre). Beneath is a *djed* pillar flanked by two representations of the Girdle of Isis. The Girdle of Isis perhaps represents the cloth worn by women during menstruation and was a protective amulet.

W1043

This wooden stela measures 38.4 x 26.3 x 3.4cm. Henry Wellcome bought it at auction on 27 July 1931. The upper register shows the winged sun-disk, here shown as Horus of Edfu. Below that is the sign for the sky and then, in the central register, the deceased is represented in the costume of a priest, his arms upraised in adoration before Osiris and Re. Re is shown with the falcon head. There are no images on the reverse.

The 4 lines of text read:

Line 1:

Htp-di-nsw n Hr Axty nTr aA nb pt sAb Swt pr(w) m Axt

An offering which the king gives to Harakhty, the great god, lord of the sky, variegated of plumage, who comes forth from the horizon

Line 2:

di.f prt-xrw t Hnqt kAw Apdw irp irTt snTr

that he should give a voice offering of bread, beef, fowl, wine, milk, incense

Line 3:

mrHt mnxt Htpw DfAw n kAw Wsir PA-men-s mAa-xrw

ointment, clothes and provision offerings to the *kas* of Osiris Pa-menes, true of voice

Line 4:

sA (Hr.f-tm?) mAa-xrw ms (w) nbt-pr st-wrt, mAa(t)-xrw

son of (Herefernit?) born of the mistress of the house, Sat-weret, true of voice

Figure 28. *W1043. Offering stela from Edfu.*

HES-VASES

Hes-vases were used for pouring liquid offerings, usually water, for gods and the deceased. They were also used in ritual purification and are depicted on the offering tables discussed above.[43] The hieroglyph shaped like the vase gives the phonetic value 'hes'. As a word, *hes* means praise or favour.

REDEMPTION

Without rites one could not become an *akh*. Several categories of dead were in particular danger of this, including foreigners, the drowned, enemies of Re and criminals.[44] Enemies of the gods, criminals and foreigners, one would expect, would not receive transfiguration rituals and the necessary rites could not be performed if drowned bodies were not recovered. However, all was not necessarily lost and the greater gods might help.[45]

For example:

> Horus says to the drowned, the overturned … breath belongs to your souls. They are not oppressed. Swimming-movements belong to your arms, they are not hindered. You go by way of the Nun on your feet. You come from the water. You descend into the *hnhn*-water. You swim in the Nile. You land on its bank. You swim in the great Nile. You land on its bank. Your body does not decay. Your flesh does not go bad.[46]

In the *Book of Gates*, even foreigners were saved:

> Horus says to this herd of Re, which is in the netherworld, namely Egyptians and foreigners: May you do well herd of Re, who has sprung from the Great One, who is in heaven. Air for your noses, loosening of your bandages.[47]

JUDGEMENT

The idea of judgement as necessary for rebirth first appears in the *Pyramid Texts*, but largely as a royal right.[48] By the Middle Kingdom, the judgement theme had spread to non-royal contexts.[49] From the Eleventh Dynasty (2055–1985 BC) judgement was expressed pictorially by the weighing of the heart scene. This scene gained popularity from the New Kingdom on, first in tombs and papyri and then on coffins.[50] Initially, it was associated with Spell

30B of the *Book of the Dead*, the ‘Spell of the heart’ and only later with Spell 125, ‘the declaration of innocence’.[51] Judgement took place before forty-two gods and the deceased declared their innocence, denying all ‘sins’. However, the scales, etc., in the vignettes are not actually mentioned in the spells.

The Egypt Centre holds two depictions of the weighing of the heart scene separated by some one thousand years. The first is on the coffin of Iwesemhesetmut, the other is on a shroud of the lady Tashay.

W1982

This Twenty-first Dynasty coffin (1069–945 BC) includes several Otherworld figures who have long intrigued me, including a feline-headed male daemon, a female guardian with crocodile headdress and of course Ammut. The coffin has the accession number W1982 and belonged to a Chantress of Amun called Iwesemhesetmut, a wealthy, though not royal, woman. She sang and played music to please the gods in the temple at Thebes. Her name means either ‘She is in the Praise of Mut’ or ‘She is as a Singer of Mut’. Mut was a lioness-headed goddess.

Figure 29. *W1982. The coffin of Iwesemhesetmut. Photograph by Keith Arkley.*

In 1817, on the west bank at Thebes, the great Giovanni Belzoni, adventurer, engineer and circus strongman, was digging up antiquities to sell. It was probably he who uncovered this coffin and sold it to an English clergyman, Robert Fitzherbert Fuller who was travelling with two other friends. In those days, removal of antiquities from Egypt was almost unrestricted and wealthy visitors bought souvenirs of coffins and mummies. Fuller gave the coffin to Exeter Museum in 1819 but it gradually fell into disrepair. Then, in the 1970s, Professor Gwyn Griffiths of Swansea University was researching judgement scenes and on a visit to Exeter the coffin caught his eye. He and his wife, Kate Bosse-Griffiths, brought it to Swansea in 1981 and it was conserved with a grant from the Council of Museums in Wales. Exeter Museum retains the mummy board which originally belonged with the coffin.[52]

In shaping and decorating the coffin, rebirth was depicted in multiple ways, encouraging hopes into reality. The coffin is anthropoid, showing the deceased as mummified, wrapped and divine and the white background is painted over with colourful scenes of rebirth.[53] The whole is covered with resin varnish, imitating the shining nature of gods and the blessed dead.[54] While the resin has yellowed with age, it still shines and the name of the deceased is clear. Iwesemhesetmut can be seen enjoying immortality.

Twenty-first Dynasty coffin decoration is often described as 'crowded', demonstrating a *horror vacui.* The suggested reason for this development is usually that scenes in tombs and afterlife books were designed to encourage rebirth; as both tombs and afterlife books became restricted in size during the Twenty-first Dynasty, these scenes were condensed on to coffins. Of course, it is possible that other factors come into play, such as the desire for a 'personal tomb'.

In many ways this coffin is typical of the time, though it does have some rare qualities. For example, in the case of most such coffins the god Shu supports the sky-deity Nut. However, on the Egypt Centre coffin the daemon Heka replaces Shu. Additionally, Osiris is shown on his resurrection mound not as one enthroned god, but as two back-to-back deities.

The weighing the heart scene is typical and shows an equal-armed balance. The balance was operated by placing a weight, a representation of order, in one of the pans and the item to be weighed, the heart of the deceased, in the other. The two were balanced by the level bar. If the heart was heavy, and the deceased therefore not 'True of Voice' (justified, i.e. suitable for rebirth), the heart would be eaten by the Devourer (Ammut). If successful, the deceased would declare 'I am pure, I am pure, I am pure'. This triumphal image is depicted by Iwesemhesetmut raising her arms in jubilation.

Figure 30. *W1982. Weighing of the heart scene on a Twenty-first Dynasty coffin.*

The heart is in the left pan and Ma'at, personifying truth and cosmic order, is in the right pan. She is shown as a squatting woman. Since Ma'at was considered the embodiment of justice, viziers in charge of law courts were called 'priests of Ma'at' and the judgement hall was known as the 'hall

of two truths' (*ma'aty*). Ma'at could be personified as a goddess or depicted simply as a feather.

The importance of the heart is explained in *Book of the Dead*, Spell 30B; a plea for the heart not to oppose the deceased before the tribunal. This spell was inscribed on heart scarab amulets which were often put in mummy wrappings. The heart was the essence of the person, their seat of intellect and emotion.[56] Several *Book of the Dead* spells reveal the fear that one's heart might be taken or destroyed, which explains why the heart was not removed from the body during mummification.

The god Thoth in ape form sits atop the scales wearing the moon-disk and crescent on his head, which emphasises his lunar role.[57] In texts he is both the judge and the scribe recording the result. He is particularly identified as the indicator of balance, the plummet.[58]

His position on top of the balance suggests that here he personifies judgement, particularly as Ma'at sometimes occupies this position.

Anubis, with dog or jackal-head, stands in front of the scales. Anubis sometimes had the title 'he who is over the scales' or, as early as the *Pyramid Texts*, he was called 'assessor of hearts' and 'overseer of the tribunal'.[59] Prior to the Twenty-first Dynasty Thoth or Horus took charge of weighing, but during the Twenty-first Dynasty Anubis took on this role.[60] Two parallel lines meaning 'true of voice' are positioned near Anubis' left foot indicating that the deceased has been found suitable to enter the afterlife.

Under Anubis' raised arm are two small figures. The higher one wears a lotus (waterlily) blossom in her hair, a symbol of rebirth. Her crossed arms and net-like covering are in keeping with the deceased as a mummy and suggest that she represents Iwesemhesetmut awaiting rebirth (for net symbolism, see pp. 112–13). Other coffins depict this figure as a child, or alternatively they show a more explicitly Osirian figure holding the crook and flail of the god.[61]

Underneath her is Ma'at wearing a feather on her head. She sits on a rectangular block, the personified birth-brick Meskhenet, also a daemon. Birth-bricks were sometimes personified with a female head.[62] Women squatted on pairs of them to give birth, as shown at the Hathor temple at Dendera. As well as alluding to rebirth, these bricks were also protective.[63]

Meskhenet is shown at Deir el-Bahri as a daemon, helping with the birth of Hatshepsut, the female pharaoh. There are suggestions from the New Kingdom onwards that Meskenet was a daemon of fate. In Papyrus Westcar, a text of five stories, Meskhenet predicts the fate of the newborn. The presence of the birth-brick in the weighing scene may stem from the myth that a person's potential was mapped out at birth on their birth-brick by Thoth, and this potential was taken into consideration on the day of judgement.[64] The proximity of Ma'at emphasises the judgement role of Meskhenet.

Some one thousand years after Iwesemhesetmut, a woman called Tashay walked the streets of Thebes. W651 is the part of her shroud showing the weighing scene. It measures 25cm x 22.5cm. Unfortunately, the complete shroud has been cut up, presumably by a dealer hoping to increase sales. The pieces were bought by Henry Wellcome at auction on 13 January 1931 (lot 314) and have been published by Gwyn Griffiths.[65]

Figure 31. *W651. Weighing of the heart scene on Tashay's shroud.*

This shroud has been dated by the woman's hairstyle to ad 140–160, when Graeco-Roman influence would be evident.[66] Tashay is therefore presented in such a way that she appears more lifelike to our eyes than would traditional Egyptian figures. She faces the viewer.[67] She also wears a Roman-style tunic with vertical stripes. The gods, however, look more typically Egyptian.

The shroud presents a simplified weighing scene, with Tashay's heart weighed by the gods, Thoth in ibis form (left) and Horus (right). Thoth in baboon form also appears sitting atop the balance.

As with the coffin, the deceased's successful judgement is depicted. But what fate might befall the unsuccessful? As well as Ammut, there were other daemons waiting to devour the unjustified (pp. 46, 119–20). Swallowing was not only a means of destruction but meant the swallower ingested the properties of the swallowed. Often this was *heka* (pp. 122–3).

Texts and iconography show other horrors awaited the damned. They might be decapitated or cooked in cauldrons or exist upside down forever.[68] By the Graeco-Roman Period punishments were described in particularly imaginative ways. For example, in the Story of Setne Khaemwast some are forced to plait ropes which are then chewed by donkeys, while others have bread and water dangled just out of reach before them.[69]

Punishment was a necessary prelude to rebirth and perhaps paralleled funeral rites where a bull representing Seth was sacrificed (p. 73). It may also have been related to the devouring of enemies in the *Pyramid Text*, particularly the 'Cannibal Hymn', so-called because it describes the king hunting and eating the gods.[70]

During the Third Intermediate Period, the Lake of Fire was depicted as a means of rebirth, transforming and revitalising the sun-god and blessed dead.[71] At the same time, the lake was a means of punishment shown in connection with prone, black, human figures, elsewhere described as *mwtw*.[72] This lake was related to the Old and Middle Kingdom whirlpool, in which the sun-god battled against his archenemy, Apep, a battle vital for the continuation of order.[73]

In the Egypt Centre the Lake of Fire is depicted on a rare New Kingdom painted shroud (W869) and on a Twenty-first Dynasty coffin fragment (W1050).

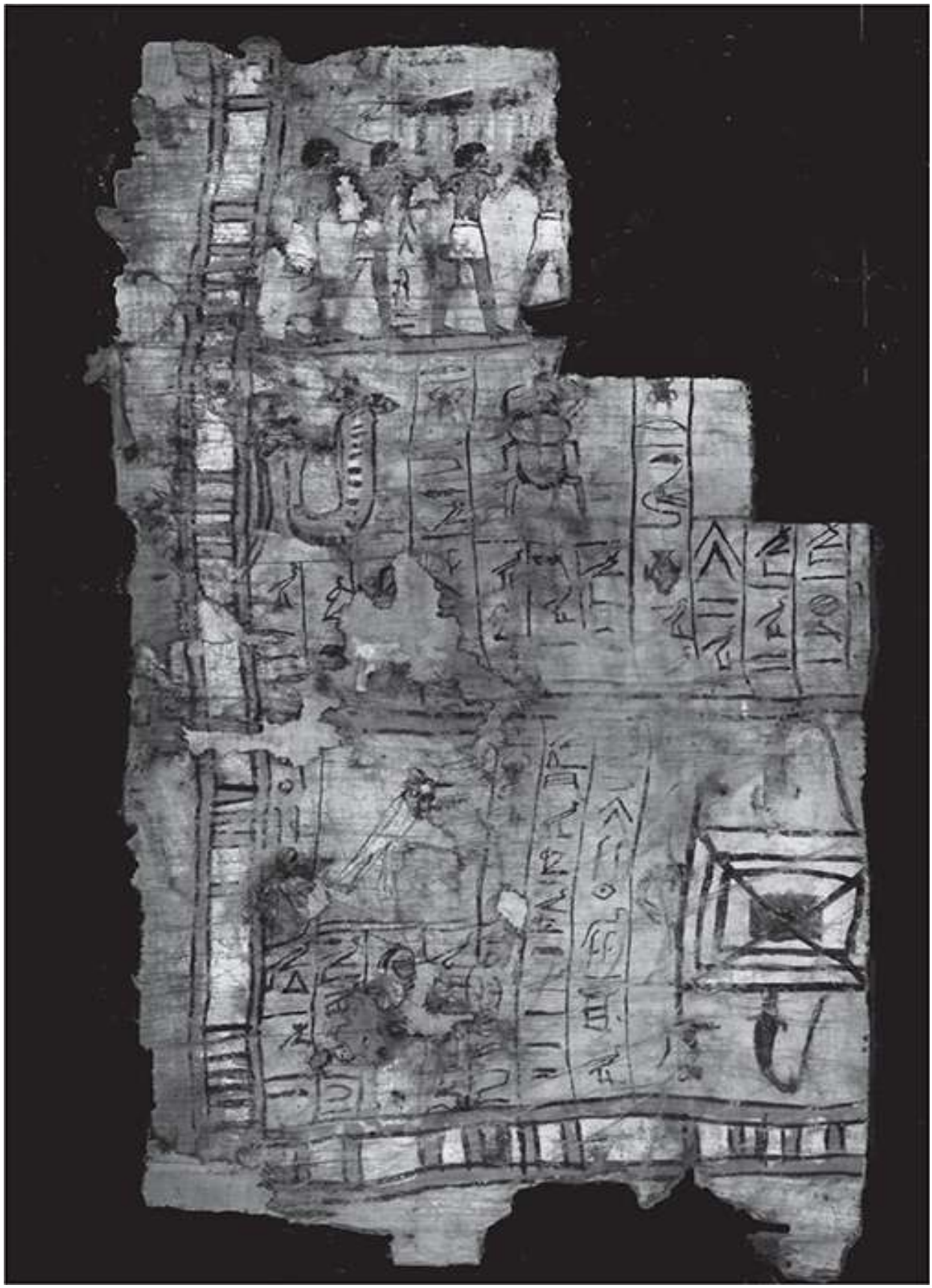


Figure 32. *W869. Rifeh shroud painted with scenes from the* Book of the Dead.

W869

The shroud, which measures 66.8 x 45.4cm, was excavated by Flinders Petrie in Rifeh and given to Henry Wellcome in 1927.[74] It is painted with *Book of the Dead* scenes. During the reign of Thutmose III (1479–1425 BC), such spells began to be used to decorate shrouds of private individuals.[75] The iconography and the owner's name, Hapi, suggest a Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty date (1295–1069 BC). [76]

Scenes include four men carrying a boat on a pole (inside the boat is a mummiform coffin); the Lake of Fire (from Spell 126); transformation into a snake (from Spell 87); transformation into a lotus (from Spell 81); transformation into a Shenti Bird (from Spell 84). The size of the vignettes show how important they were at this time.

W1050

W1050 is a side panel from an anthropoid coffin made for a woman. It measures 28.7 x 75.6 x 3.3cm and the style is typical of the late Twentieth through to the Twenty-second Dynasty (*c*.1100–700 BC). Little is known of its history except that it is part of the Wellcome collection.

The interior shows two mummiform deities representing either daemons or manifestations of the blessed dead. Their yellow faces represent gold, the colour of the flesh of the gods. Below them is a layer of stars representing the *Duat* and below the stars another deity, this time seated and facing a cobra.

The outside has a top band of hieroglyphs reciting the titles of Osiris: 'Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god who dwells in Abydos, Wenen-nefer, ruler of those who live, the king of eternity, lord of everlasting'. 'Foremost of the Westerners' was one of the titles of Osiris. 'The Westerners' were those buried in the west. 'Wenen-nefer' was another name for Osiris after his resurrection and may mean 'He who has become youthful'. Osiris was also known as Lord of 'Eternity and Everlastingness'. Both nouns are often translated as 'Eternity' and transliterated *Dt* and *nHH*.

It is sometimes said that *Dt* represents the linear time of people on earth, the second the cyclical time of the gods, or that *Dt* is associated with the past and Osiris and *nHH* with Re and the future. However, the two were often interchanged.

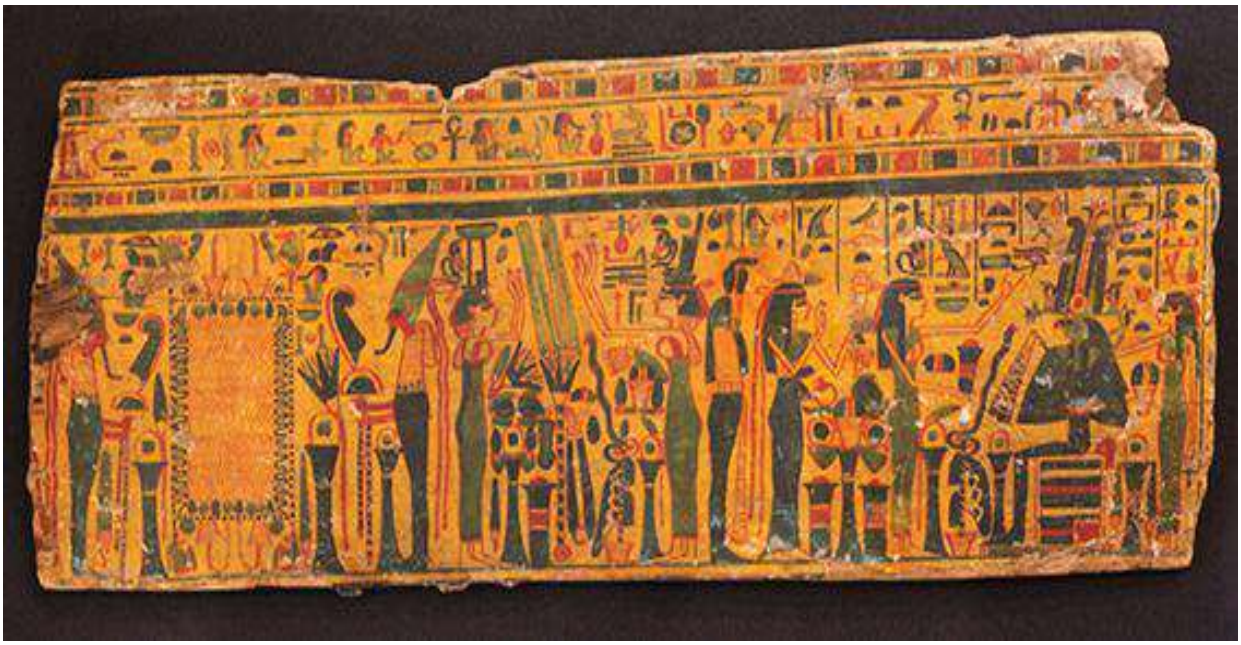


Figure 33. *W1050. Third Intermediate Period coffin fragment showing the Lake of Fire.*

In the scene below, on the right, Nut stands behind the enthroned and crowned Horus. Immediately in front of him is Isis, and behind Isis is the deceased, identified by the funerary cone on her head. She shakes a sistrum in an act of adoration.

Behind her is a snake-headed deity labelled *Hnwt*, 'mistress'. She may be Werethekau (Great of Magic), who is sometimes depicted accompanying Osiris and is shown as a woman with a snake's head. Early depictions of her occur on the stelae of chantresses.[78] A similar figure on the coffin of Iwesemhesetmut is identified as She Who Embraces, a figure of judgement and Solar-Osirian resurrection (p. 91). The figure on W1050, being mummiform, resembles the snake-headed judges of the tribunal.[79]

Behind her, and facing in the opposite direction, stands Isis adoring a lotus plant that has a *menat* necklace hanging from it and is surmounted by two green feathers. This is a symbol of the god Nefertum. Facing Isis is her

sister goddess Nephthys, also adoring Nefertum. Then comes Osiris, the Lake of Fire and finally another figure of Osiris.

Torches are shown on the two short sides of the lake and the two long ends are guarded by snakes. At each corner squats a baboon holding a feather of truth. The baboons may allude to the sun-god, newly emerged and revified from the lake. Baboons were said to welcome the sun each morning. Additionally, the feathers held by these four might suggest a judgement role. Four baboons with 'scorching breath of their mouths' in *Book of the Dead* Spell 126 were said to remove evil and blot out sins.[80] While the damned would burn, the justified deceased could pass unharmed.

The inscription in vertical columns above this scene reads 'The great god, lord of the secret mound which is in the midst of the *Duat*. Nut, mistress of the beautiful West. Isis, the great one, mother of the god. Re. The mistress. Isis. Nefertum, protector of the lands, the great god. Nephthys. Osiris, lord for ever and ever, the great god. Osiris, lord of eternity.' Secrecy/the hidden was important in transfiguration (p. 15).

UNITING WITH OSIRIS?

While association with various deities was necessary for rebirth, the relationship with Osiris was particularly important.

SHABTIS/USHABTIS[81]

In order to become like the reborn god, the dead were portrayed as solar Osiris, Osiris united with the sun-god Re.

Shabtis (servant figurines or substitutes for the deceased) are frequently mummy shaped and, in the case of male shabtis, have a false beard like Osiris. Additionally, inscriptions upon them sometimes begin 'the illuminated Osiris' (e.g., W5029 and WK34, figure 34) suggesting the solarisation of the deceased, i.e., reborn, Osiris. This may be one of the reasons why shabtis were often made of faience, a material said by the Egyptians to be 'shining'.[82]

Anthropoid coffins were mostly genderless, though stylised breasts acknowledged female gender and beards tended to be associated with the

male. Shabtis too might show a concession to gender, such as the depiction of breasts [fig. 35].

TASHAY'S SHROUD W649

This is another section of Tashay's shroud, showing the mummy of Tashay lying on a lion-shaped bed with canopic jars under it. Such jars are associated with the Four Sons of Horus (pp. 111–12). Tashay is revived by the goddess Nephthys, shown in both human form and as a falcon hovering above the deceased. The piece measures 30cm x 14cm.

The identification of the dead female with the male Osiris gave rise to what might be interpreted as bizarre depictions of female rebirth. For example, the resexualisation of Osiris was essential to rebirth and was frequently displayed as the mummiform Osiris lying upon a bed while Isis, his sister and wife, hovered in bird-form above his phallus, stimulating it into life. The same motif was used for the rebirth of the female, with the female bird hovering above the genital area. It possibly represents an unthinking copying of the male form of rebirth, or alternatively suggests females had to change gender to be reborn.

Figure 34. *W5029 and WK34. Shabtis declaring the deceased as 'the illuminated one'.*

Figure 35. *W5081. Shabti with breasts.*

Figure 36. *W649 Tashay's shroud showing the deceased on a funerary bed.*

Some Egyptologists believe that Osirian identification meant that a woman had to lose her gender as a prelude to rebirth, but regained it once reborn.[83] The reborn person is often shown gendered on inner mummy boards and on the exterior of coffin bases. Others claim that the association with Osiris is overstated. This argument is supported by the fact that, from the Sixth Dynasty (2345–2181 BC) and with increased frequency from the Middle Kingdom onwards, male and female deceased were sometimes associated with Hathor.[84] Hathor was an intercessor on behalf of the deceased and *Coffin Text* 331 is entitled 'Becoming Hathor.' On an Eleventh Dynasty (2055–1985 BC) statue in the Ashmolean Museum, while the male is 'revered before Osiris', the female is 'revered before Hathor'.[85]

Concessions to female identity increase on coffins from the late New Kingdom onwards. For example, in the Late Period the deceased woman was sometimes portrayed wearing the vulture headdress, previously a preserve of queens.[86]

The female link with Hathor became particularly explicit in text from the Fourth Century BC. During this period the woman was given more credit for forming the child and while from the Old Kingdom female burial equipment had largely been subsumed in male burials, from the Ptolemaic Period more burial equipment was made specifically for women.[87] The Egypt Centre holds Ptolemaic shroud fragments showing the deceased as Hathor rather than Osiris (EC175 and EC176).

W1052

W1052 [fig. 37] is a Third Intermediate Period coffin fragment measuring 21cm x 19.5cm x 5cm. It was bought by Henry Wellcome at the Sotheby auction of Robert de Rustafjaell material on 10 December 1907.[88]

The outside bears the inscription 'Lady of the House, Nesy … Ra. Chantress of Amun Re, King of the Gods', declaring that this coffin fragment belonged to a female temple musician (chantress). The deceased wears one cone on her head and offers another to the enthroned Osiris. Strangely, she wears a man's kilt. Is this an aspect of deliberate gender ambiguity?

On several Third Intermediate Period coffins inscribed for women she is depicted in traditionally male dress.[89] One explanation is that high-quality coffins were mass-produced, with the default being male, and were imperfectly altered for women. However, alternative explanations have been suggested. Perhaps this was a reused coffin, something which was quite common at the time. Perhaps women wished to show connection with Osiris by adopting male attributes, but once reborn wished to keep their gender. In contradiction, however, in the case of other funerary items transformation does not easily divide between reaching the afterlife and existence *in* the afterlife. Finally, depictions of women dressed as men might indicate those parts of ritual where the deceased was required to act as Osiris, while elsewhere they retained their gender, an idea suggested for certain funerary

papyri, as well as shabtis and scarabs, where pronouns referring to the deceased alternate.[90]

SOLAR-OSIRIAN UNITY

The left and right sides of the coffin of Iwesemhesetmut (W1982) in many ways mirror one another. For example, on one side Iwesemhesetmut is judged before Osiris, and on the other the judge is solar. Coffins of this date combine solar and Osirian beliefs. In Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts* Re and Osiris are seen as complimentary and opposite but in New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* spells they unify.[91] The sun, sometimes called the *ba* of Osiris, unites with Osiris daily to be reborn in a cycle of birth and rebirth. Similarly the *ba* of the deceased had to return to the mummy to be reborn. Simplified, the *ba* is a 'soul' or 'spirit' of a god or the deceased, though some prefer the term 'manifestation'.

W648

This coffin fragment [fig. 38] shows Khepri (the scarab beetle, representing the newly created sun) being embraced or held aloft by the sun-disk, representing the solarised Osiris.[92] It dates to the earlier Twenty-second Dynasty (*c*.943–800 BC) and was bought by Henry Wellcome at auction in 1924 from the Hood collection.[93]

The sun-disk was Khepri (meaning 'he who comes into being') in the morning, Re during midday and Atum in the evening. Khepri was associated with the creation and rebirth of Osiris.[94] He is first mentioned in Fifth Dynasty *Pyramid Texts*, and from the Middle Kingdom onwards, the scarab amulet was produced in huge quantities.

On W648, the Otherworld is represented by the oval-shaped sky.[95] On either side of the sun-disk is the hieroglyph for life, the *ankh*. Two kneeling divine beings, the one on the left with a feather being the West, the one on the right, the East, sit on *per*-signs (indicating houses) and offer bread.[96] Between them is a sign of a hill over which are the rays of the rising sun.[97]

The sun-disk embracing scarab features on several Third Intermediate Period coffins and papyri. For example, on the lid of a Twenty-first Dynasty (1069–945 BC) coffin in the British Museum, a winged sun-disk embraces a

scarab between the two lions symbolising the horizon.[98] It is possible that in such instances the sun-disk represents Horus of Edfu (pp. 77). The disk usually had two uraei, here substituted for two arms to highlight the life-giving embrace of the newly born sun protecting the scene below. The motif is congruent with several funerary books, especially Spell 15 of the *Book of the Dead*, the final hour of the *Amduat* and the *Book of Caverns*.[99]

On several New Kingdom illustrations of *Book of the Dead* Spell 15, the sun is embraced by a female figure, her gender indicated by breasts or by the symbolism of the Goddess of the West.[100] The Goddess of the West receives the deceased and takes various forms, often as Nut or sometimes as Hathor in cow form, emerging from the mountains of Thebes.[101] In one New Kingdom example the *djed* pillar representing Osiris, and a goddess both elevate or embrace the sun-disk.[102] However, from the New Kingdom onwards, and with increasing frequency in the Third Intermediate Period, *Book of the Dead* Spell 15 is illustrated by Osiris as a *djed* pillar with arms welcoming the scarab as he ascends from the morning horizon.[103]

The scene on W648 is also paralleled in the *Book of the Caverns*, where, as in the *Book of the Dead*, there is increasing emphasis on Osiris as the embracing god. A scene of a female embracing the sun occurs in a *Book of Caverns* representation from the tomb of Ramesses VI (1145–1137 BC).[104] However, in the earlier tomb of Tauseret (KV 14), the sun-disk, in association with the scarab, emerges from the west (*c*.1220–1188 BC).[105] The *Book of Caverns* motif alludes to the headless, solarised and sexually revitalised Osiris, the sun-disk head of Osiris.[106] A variation of the motif with parallel meaning shows the male arms of Osiris raising up the sun-boat.[107] Such scenes occur in the New Kingdom *Book of Caverns* and the *Book of Gates*. Osiris is associated with Shu, who raises the day boat of the solar god.[108] The day boat could translate as the newborn disk or scarab.

Finally, the vignette of W648 is related to *Amduat* scenes, where the night hours are divided according to the stages of the god's rebirth. Depictions of the final hour often show Osiris as ithyphallic and mummiform.[109] The earliest example is in the tomb of Thutmose I (*c*.1526–1513 BC), where arms reach toward the scarab at the end of the night journey. The general use of *Amduat* scenes on coffins is particularly noticeable from the Third Intermediate Period.

Thus, the scene on W648 represents the arms of the solarised Osiris (Re and Osiris combined) rising from the Otherworld and elevating the morning sun, Khepri.[110] The idea was used in several funerary books from the New Kingdom onwards. Osiris and the scarab become increasingly connected, so that by the Twenty-first Dynasty the sun-disk embracing Khepri is particularly evident.[111]

The act of embracing both unified and vivified Re and Osiris.[112] The deceased travelled through the *Duat* to be reborn in the morning, paralleling the rebirth of Re/Osiris. The procreative power of embracing arms is described in *Coffin Texts*. According to one myth, Atum created Shu and Tefnut by embracing them and imparting his 'vital force' [*ka*]. The act of embracing transmitted the *ka* force and was a means of protection, procreation and sexual revitalisation. Kings are shown being embraced by gods. The scene parallels the concept represented on W1056 (p. 97).

BA AND *KA* AND BODY

Body, *ba* and *ka* are frequently described as separate parts of a being which must be unified for the deceased to be effective but some Egyptologists see them as different manifestations of the whole person.[114] The concept of *ba* and *ka* varied over time and at times their functions overlapped so considerably that they appeared interchangeable. Unsurprisingly, Egyptologists disagree as to their precise meaning. While the body may be easily identified, how the ancients understood it differs from many modern conceptions.

Figure 37. *W1052. Coffin fragment of a Chantress of Amun but showing the deceased as male.*

Figure 38. *W648. A coffin fragment showing Khepri embraced by the sun-disk.*

BODY

Khet and *iru* referred to the living body, while the cadaver was called a *khat*. To ensure an afterlife, the deceased was transformed into something akin to a cult statue through the process of mummification and attendant rituals.[115] To be more than a simple dead husk, the body had to be made into a *sah* or

tut. Sah refers to the mummified body which, in later periods at least, could mediate between the living and divine. *Tut* implied godliness, and image.[116]

KA[117]

Some see the *ba*'s role as tending to the deceased's physical needs, in contrast to the *ka*, which was related to social needs. The *ka* was the life-force born with a person, which continued after death. On death, the *ka* became the means of provisioning the dead. It was shown as two arms raised in a protective and life-giving embrace.

The *ka* could also be negative and harm the living. From the Old Kingdom onwards, offerings were made to it and *Book of the Dead* Spell 105 ensures that the *ka* is gratified or appeased through offerings. The word *ka* can be seen on this stela in the Egypt Centre, written with two raised, embracing arms.

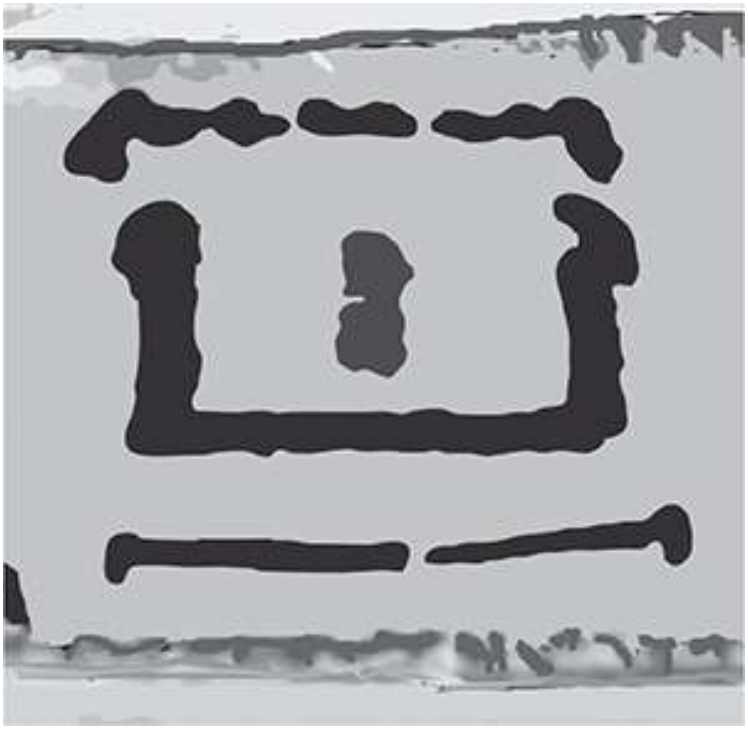


Figure 39. *Depiction of the writing 'for the* ka *of'.*

BA[118]

The *ba* was a manifestation of an individual or god; it attended to the corporeal needs of the deceased, and in particular it fed and protected the body. Every night the *ba* had to return to the body, and the fear that it might not return is apparent in *Book of the Dead* Spells 92 and 188. In fact, the *ba* was so closely linked with the physical body that it needed food and drink and hence offerings were made to it.

Coffin Text 103 suggests that a living person can send his *ba* so that 'yonder man may see you'.[119] In the 'Dispute of a Man with his *Ba*', a living person talks with his own *ba*.[120] Free movement was an important aspect of the *ba*, enabling it to travel between tomb and *Duat*. It might also haunt the living; one New Kingdom ostracon asks the question, 'Is it the manifestation (*bAw*) of Anynakht?' which causes problems.[121]

The *ba* was initially shown as a jabiru stork, but by the time of the New Kingdom it was depicted as human-headed raptor. However, it could take on other forms at will.[122]

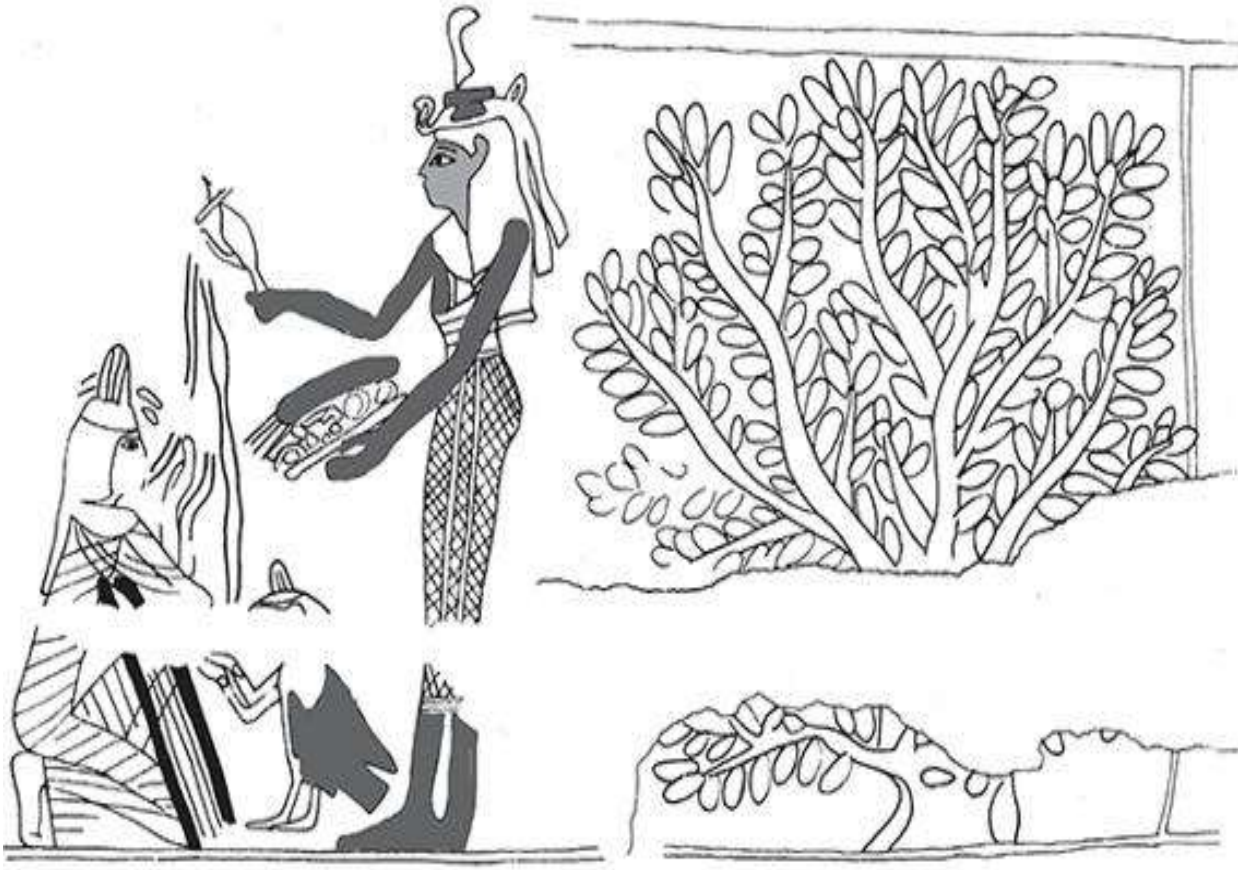


Figure 40. *W1982.* Ba-*bird and sycamore tree goddess.*

BA-BIRD AND SYCAMORE TREE GODDESS, W1982

There are several representations of *ba*-birds on the coffin of Iwesemhesetmut. One shows a sycamore tree goddess, wearing the Ma'at feather on her head. She is standing in front of the tree, giving libations to the deceased, who is kneeling. The *ba*-bird of the deceased stands between the deceased and the goddess and, like the deceased, wears a funerary cone on its head. Such depictions of the tree goddesses reviving the deceased are common from the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Egypt Centre has another depiction of such a scene, without a *ba*-bird (EC490).

WOODEN *BA*-BIRDS

The *ba*-bird appears in early texts and is illustrated on tombs and papyri from the Eighteenth Dynasty (*c*.1500 BC) onwards. *Book of the Dead* Spell 89 recommended that a golden *ba*-bird be placed on the chest of the mummy to ensure unification of *ba* and body.

Ba-bird figures date from the Saite Period (664–525 BC) to the second century ad.[123] Most are wooden, coated with plaster and painted. They wear black wigs with lappets on their chest and a *wesekh* (broad) collar. Such figures surmounted shrines or stood upon coffin posts. Many have broken dowel fragments in their bases which were originally for attachment to coffins.

Figure 41. *A group of wooden* ba*-birds.*

Figure 42. *W1056.* Ba-*bird on the interior of a coffin.*

W1056 *BA*-BIRD PAINTED ON THE INSIDE OF A COFFIN

This is the head-end of the base of a coffin. The exterior is yellow, with rows of damaged hieroglyphs in a style consistent with other Third Intermediate Period coffins from Deir el-Bahri. It measures approximately 32cm x 24cm x12cm and is part of the Wellcome collection.

The coffin interior (fig. 42) depicts a *ba*-bird. Hieroglyphs to the left of it read *peret em Akhet* (prt m Axt, going out from the Akhet) and refer to the *ba* ascending to the *Duat* through the *akhet*.[124] By the time of the New Kingdom the *ba* was thought to ascend into the sky.[125]

The cone on the *ba*-bird's head connects it with the deceased, but the bird also has Osirian connections. In complete coffins with *ba*-birds, the interior base often shows Osiris or the *djed*-pillar (a symbol of Osiris). The *ba* depicted above the *djed* pillar, or above Osiris, is congruent with *Amduat*

texts stating that Osiris remained in the Duat while his *ba* remained in the sky.[126]

The *ba*-bird was closely associated with the head of the deceased. When the coffin was standing upright, as for example in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony described above, the *ba* would hover over the head of the deceased as both the glorified dead and the reborn Osiris-Re.[127] In the tomb of Seti I at Abydos, birds with human heads are sometimes described as *ba*s but elsewhere are seen as the glorified dead; they could be both.[128] Whether the glorified dead and/or the reborn Re/Osiris, the *ba*-bird is a creature of solar renewal. Thus, *ba*-birds are often shown crowned with sun-disks.

COMMUNICATING WITH THE DEAD

Communication with the dead was introduced on p. 17 but is discussed here in a little more detail.

About fifteen letters to the dead are known, most of which date to between 2200 and 1750 BC.[129] In common with appeals to estate managers they incorporate:

1. A reminder of the ritual duties performed by the living;
2. An exposition of the problems of the household;
3. A reproach addressed to the spirit for allowing unfair events to happen;
4. An appeal to the spirit to solve the problems; failure to do so will cause trouble for the spirit, particularly with regard to the supply of offerings.

In one example from the Twentieth Dynasty (*c*.1187–1064 BC), a husband threatened to file a lawsuit against his dead wife. She was causing him problems even though he had treated her well when she was alive!

The Beautiful Festival of the Valley, in which the statue of Amun visited the gods of the West, was first recorded during the Eleventh Dynasty (2050–1985 BC) and continued until the time of the Ptolemies (323–30 BC). Sensual festivities, incorporating drunkenness, the smell of food and perfume, music and flowers, promoted an ecstatic union between living and dead.[130] The dead were urged, ‘Emerge from the earth! Behold Re and follow Amun in his Beautiful Feast of the Valley’, while the living gave the deceased food offerings and bouquets of flowers called *ankhw*.

Figure 43. *A232. An ancestor stela.*

It was also possible to communicate with the dead in the home via 'ancestor stelae' and 'ancestor busts'.[131] Ancestor busts were small busts of wood, stone or faience representing the dead. A stela shows a woman pouring libations before such a bust. These were possibly set up in liminal places within the home, such as platform altars or by false door motifs.[132]

A232

A232 is a fragment of an ancestor stela donated to the Egypt Centre by Aberystwyth University in 1997. It has been published.[133] The fragment is limestone with traces of brown and white paint and shows a person holding and sniffing a lotus (waterlily) flower. Its measurements are 115mm x 78mm x 33mm.

The inscription is dedicated to 'the excellent/effective spirits of Re'.[134] Several such stelae have been discovered in homes, though others are from chapels and tombs. They may have been a means by which the living contacted the effective dead, that is, the dead who were able to act after death. Most have been found at Deir el-Medina and date to the Ramesside Period (1295–1069 BC), though it is probable that A232 comes from Abydos.

The religious significance of the lotus on the stela includes the ability of its scent to revive. Scent was also associated with sanctity, the odour of the gods, and with the deceased passing into eternal life. It was a suitable offering for deities and the deceased and is important in scenes of drinking parties on New Kingdom tomb walls, where guests of the deceased sniff lotus flowers.[135]

SIX
DAEMONS ON COFFINS, THE *BOOK OF THE DEAD* AND THE STAR-LIT SKY

COFFINS WERE BOTH resurrection machines and metaphorically the *Duat*.[1] Therefore, this chapter, which looks at several deities connected with rebirth from the *Duat*, also contains several coffin scenes.

THE FOUR SONS OF HORUS

I begin, however, with the Four Sons of Horus, who are commonly known as the deities of the four canopic jars which held the viscera of the deceased. These were known variously as the Children of Atum, the Children of Geb, the Children of Nut, the Nobles of the Gods, the Four Adolescents and the Children of Horus.[2] Horus of Khem, Harsiese and Horus the Elder (sky gods) are cited in different texts as being their father. As sons of Horus of Khem, the Four were linked with Khem (Letopolis), a place of storms, flint and meteoric iron.[3] Both meteoric iron and flint were mythologically linked with the northern sky, and with the Four Sons,[4] who were named Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef and Kebehsenuef.

Their importance centered on their place in the northern sky and particularly in the Egyptian constellation *Meskhetyu* (transliteration, Msxtwy); their status as primeval gods; and their link with the cardinal points. They first emerge in the *Pyramid Texts* as helpers of the deceased king.[5]

The Four were usually portrayed as mummiform; the wrapped body often symbolised ancestors, including primeval gods.[6] From the Eighteenth

Dynasty (1550–1295 BC) the Four were often coupled with the lotus (waterlily), a symbol of primeval birth, and are shown standing on it. According to one version of the Heliopolitan creation myth, the lotus flower gave rise to the first solar god. Four other primeval male creator gods, who may be loosely related to the Four Sons, featured heavily in the *Coffin Texts*.[7]

One of the Four 'Sons', Imsety, may originally have been female, though this idea is not universally accepted. Imsety was sometimes written 'Imset', the terminal 't' indicating female gender, and prior to the New Kingdom Imsety was painted yellow and without a beard. Traditionally, yellow skin colour was associated with women.[8] The Twelfth Dynasty (1985–1785 BC) canopic jars of Inpuhotep, now in Cairo Museum, all have red faces and beards, with the exception of one, which has a yellow face and no beard.[9] It has also been suggested that originally at least two of the 'sons' were paired gods, one male, one female. This is suggested by the ending 'ty/wy' in the names of Imsety and Hapy (the latter originally being Hepwy). Such endings usually indicate dualities.[10]

In *Pyramid Text* 688, the Four make a ladder for the king to climb to heaven and in *Book of the Dead* 17 they guard the Bull's leg constellation (*Meskhetyu*) in the northern sky.[11] *Meskhetyu* is usually identified as the modern constellation Draco, or the Great Bear. It decorates the ceiling of several New Kingdom tombs, for example the tomb of Ramesses VI, and continued in importance until the Ptolemaic Period, when it appeared in temples.[12] Such ceilings aided the rebirth of the deceased through Osiris. The Bull's leg was identified with either the leg of Seth or the leg of Osiris and was integral to the vigil of Osiris, the great battle between Seth and Re, the Inundation of the Nile and possibly the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony.[13]

Various texts refer to four deities associated with *Meskhetyu*. For example, Droiton's translation of the text on the tomb of Ramesses VI reads:

> The Spirits of the North, these are the four gods among the followers. It is they who repulse the tempest of the sky on the day of the Great Contest. It is they who take hold of the fore-rope and who manoeuvre the aft-rope of the barge of RE, together with the crew of the Imperishable Stars. The four gods who are at the north of the Thigh, they are resplendent in the midst of the sky, south of ORION, they then return to the Western Horizon.[14]

The northern sky abode is not disputed, but the claim that the Four Sons of Horus were stars of the constellation is disputed. The Four are described as

‘resplendent’ in the tomb of Ramesses VI, suggesting high visibility, and stars and the names of the Four were written with star classifiers in lists in the tomb of Senenmut. There are later references to four spirits who some interpret as stars; in a text describing heavenly bodies in Ptolemaic Dendera, in a context which is clearly the Great Bear, four *Mestyw* (Mstyw), depicted with ram’s heads, are made of flint, gold and silver.[15] Other named groups of four are associated with stars. Piankoff discusses parallels to the four *baw* described in the Eleventh Hour at Edfu and in the Temple of Deir el-Bahri.[16] These he equates with the four Imperishable stars of the *Pyramid Texts*.[17] However, according to *Book of the Dead* 17, the Four Sons of Horus were behind the constellation, that is, they were apparently not part of the constellation itself but were hidden.[18] Thus, while there is a possibility that the Four Sons were not actually stars making up the constellation, they were very close to it indeed, as would be expected if they were to guard Osiris during his vigil.

On coffins, the Four Sons support heaven (with the lid of the coffin being the sky).[19] As the spirits guarding the coffin of Osiris in the northern sky, it would be natural that each would stand at a cardinal point in relation to his coffin, surrounding and protecting it. The cardinal associations of the Four are illustrated in the Ramesseum and at Medinet Habu, where the king releases four geese or doves, symbols of the Four, to carry news of the ritual to the four corners of the universe.[20] The conflation of Imsety and Hapy with the *bas* of the town Pe, and Duamutef and Qebehsenuf with the *bas* of Nekhen, also shows a link with the cardinal points.[21] The north-south distribution of the Sons on the coffins correlates with the towns.

Figure 44. *W920. Fragment of a Ptolemaic funerary mask with* Book of the Dead *151 upon it, associating the deceased with various deities.*

The idea of the human body equating with four cardinal points is common cross-culturally and texts suggest that the ancient Egyptians were no exception. In Egypt, however, the points were also associated with gods. In *Pyramid Texts*, Spell 149, for example, Hapy and Duamutef were linked to the hands, while Imsety and Kebehsenuef were linked with the feet. However, which deities were associated with arms and which with legs changed over time, possibly as the cardinal points were more celestial than corporeal.[22] It is the night sky vigil of Osiris and the number four which is the important factor.

However, it should be stressed that the link between body parts and gods was not limited to the Four Sons, nor to Osiris.[23] The famous mask of Tutankhamun has a spell upon it linking the deceased's body parts with various gods, the same spell that occurs on Ptolemaic funerary masks such as the Egypt Centre's W920. In linking with deities, the body becomes divine.[24]

The Four Sons not only protected Osiris but ensured the safety of the sun-god Re as he travelled across the night sky. In the tenth division of the *Book of Gates*, the Four restrain the snakes who help Apep, the arch-enemy of Re.

The Four Sons of Horus were associated with the canopic jars within which the viscera was placed as part of mummification. Generally, Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef and Kebehsenuef were linked with the liver, lungs, stomach and intestines respectively, though sometimes the associations of Hapy and Duamutef are found switched about and at other times there is very little correspondence between canopic jar contents and the traditionally associated deity. This is possibly because it was the conceptions surrounding the number four, a number of completeness, together with the vigil, which were important, rather than any link between a particular body part and a specific Son. Furthermore, while ideally placement of the internal organs in the body corresponded with the position of the Sons of Horus, the embalming process was messy and intended connections could have been lost.

From the Twentieth Dynasty until the Roman Period (*c*.1100–30 BC) each of the four canopic jars had a particular head: Imsety (human-headed), Hapy (head of a baboon), Duamutef (head of a dog) and Qebehsenuef (head of a falcon). The Egypt Centre has one seeming seemingly complete jar, with the head of Imsety but all is not as it seems.

CANOPIC JAR IN THE EGYPT CENTRE: W498

These two items, the head and base of a travertine jar, date to the later period of canopic jar use, the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 BC). They were purchased by Henry Wellcome at Sotheby's on 13 November 1928 (lot 221), from the collection of Charles James Tabor.[25]

Together they measure 46.1cm in height. The inscription, which is in two columns on the base, reads 'Utterance of Selqet, protection for him who is in me, Qebehsenuef. The Father of the God, Psametek, son of Weben-ah,

adorer of the God, Chantress (?).' Qebehsenuef's name means 'He who refreshes his brother' and he was protected by the goddess Selqet. Each of the Four Sons was protected by a different goddess. The title 'Father of the God' indicates that Psametek was a priest. His mother was a priestess musician, a Chantress. Since the head of the jar shows Imsety, not Qebehsenuef, it seems the wrong two pieces may have been put together, perhaps to sell to a collector. Alternatively the two may have been incorrectly assembled in ancient Egypt.

Because the Four Sons are linked with the viscera and the vigil of Osiris, from the Third Intermediate Period amulets representing them were placed with the viscera, which at this date were returned to the body. Sometimes these amulets were made of wax. Around the same time, faience amulets representing the Four were incorporated into faience bead 'nets'. Very often such amulets have holes in them to facilitate incorporation. Other amulets depicting the sky deity Nut, the scarab and a wide collar were also incorporated into the nets. All were symbols of rebirth and protection associated with the sky.

From the Twenty-first Dynasty to the Roman Period (*c*.1069–30 BC), faience bead net shrouds were placed over the body of the deceased from just below the shoulders to the feet. The nets were made of elongated beads, with small beads forming intersections. Imitation nets were sometimes painted on mummy coverings. It is possible that the net pattern alludes to the feathers of the sun-god, or perhaps to the costume worn by goddesses or alternatively the stars of the night sky. It may also allude to the net which catches the evil doers and through which the justified are able to float. The material of which the nets were made may be significant. Faience is connected with both the sun and moon and with transformation.[26] It is plausible, then, that the net refers to both solar and lunar aspects of rebirth.

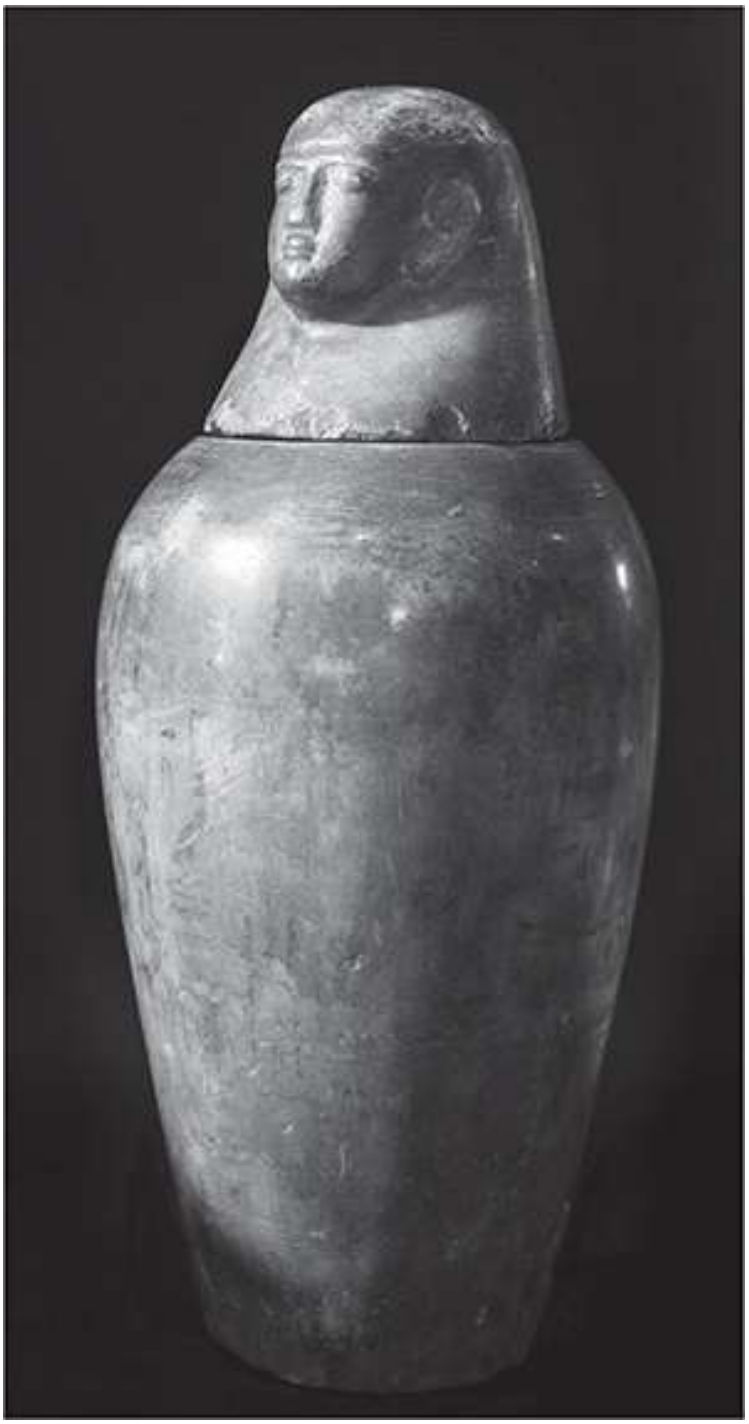


Figure 45. *W498. Canopic jar.*

Figure 46. *PM6–PM9. The Four Sons of Horus in amuletic form.*

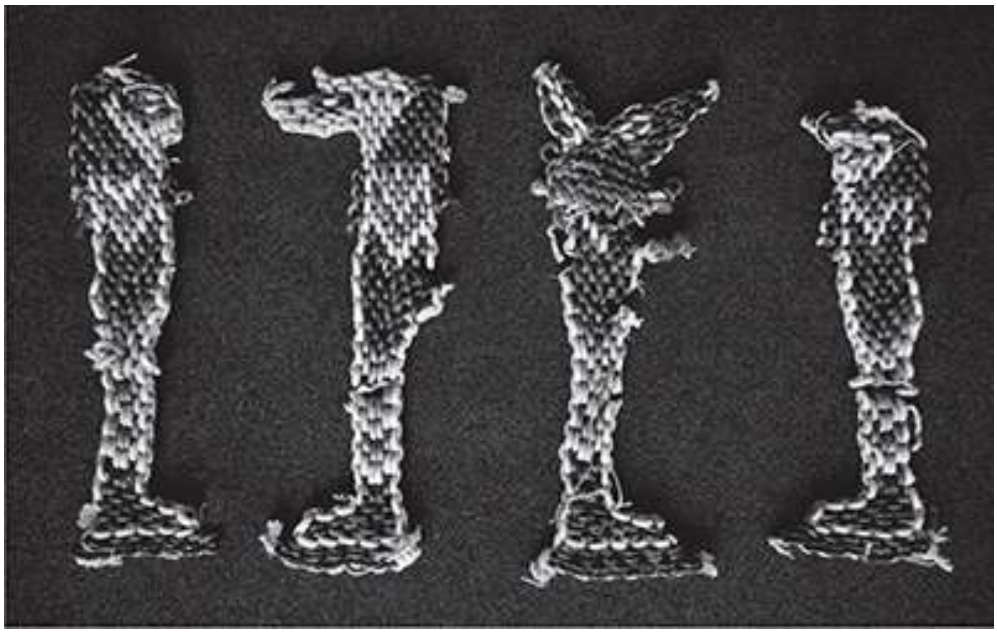


Figure 47. *W948b–W948e. The Four Sons of Horus in bead form.*

From the Late Period, images of the Four were made of tiny beads strung together and placed on the body of the deceased as part of a larger faience bead net.

Here you can see a faience group, donated to the Egypt Centre by Prys Morgan in 1997 (Accession numbers PM6–PM9). These Four Sons of Horus would have been sewn onto a bead-net covering or onto mummy bandages and positioned so as to be over the chest of the mummy. Each of the Four holds part of a mummy bandage.

W948B-W948E

These were purchased by Henry Wellcome from the Frankland Hood Sale on 11 November 1924, Lot 136.[27] As well as the Four Sons of Horus and the afore-mentioned amulets incorporated into the net, a beaded face was also sold. Very often these faces were made largely of green beads, the colour of Osiris and Ptah, the colour of rebirth.[28]

Figure 48. *W868 A fragment of the* Book of the Dead *showing the Four Sons of Horus and daemons of the mounds.*

BOOK OF THE DEAD W868

This fragment from a Ptolemaic *Book of the Dead* shows the Four Sons of Horus. It is written on a mummy bandage.[29] The Four are pertinent here as this section of the *Book of the Dead* related to the adoration of Osiris.

The practice of writing *Book of the Dead* spells on mummy bandages was presumably intended to protect the body. The practice began around 400 BC, though most surviving examples date to the Ptolemaic Period.

This piece measures 69 x 9cm and, as with other mummy bandages, the script is hieratic and written in black ink from right to left. Hieratic script was based on hieroglyphs but allowed scribes to write more quickly. This bandage belonged to Djed-Her, son of (his mother) Ta. Other pieces are now in London and New York.[30] The reason pieces are found in separate collections is because mummy bandages were frequently cut up to be sold.

The text of W868 includes parts of Spells 148 and 149 of the *Book of the Dead*, while the vignettes (illustrations) are from *Book of the Dead* 149 and show the first five mounds of the Otherworld. As with other versions of the Spell, the relationships between vignettes and written descriptions are not obvious.

We first see the concept of Otherworld mounds through which the deceased must pass and their associated daemons in the *Coffin Texts*. The concept of specifically fourteen mounds began in New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* spells. Spell 149 described hills and harbours, fields and mountains.

By the Graeco-Roman Period, ‘daemonic decans’ – decans being groups of stars used in ancient astronomy – had the same names as many mound daemons, thus linking the mounds with the night sky.[31]

The earliest version of Spell 149 opens with the adoration of Osiris. Later versions are placed next to Spell 148, which ends with the adoration of Osiris in his form as Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.[32] In some papyri, Spell 149 is entitled ‘Spell for knowing the mounds of the House of Osiris in the Field of Rushes’.[33]

The first mound on the right illustrates a figure holding two sticks or wands. To his right are four mummiform figures, the Four Sons of Horus. One would expect them in the Osirian sky. The mound itself is indicated by a ‘house’ hieroglyph.

The second mound has the mountain hieroglyph, perhaps representing the *akhet* (p. 18).[34] There is also a figure with an ape or jackal head, a tail and animal legs. He holds two sticks or wands. The description of the second mound describes the gateway through which Re goes forth to traverse the sky.

The third mound has the same figure, but this time standing over a mound represented by a horseshoe shape. In other versions of Spell 149, the title ‘Mound of the Mighty Ones’ is written inside the Mound.[35]

The fourth mound shows a snake carried aloft by three men. Elsewhere the snake is mutilated and it is assumed that this represents its capture. In other versions of the Spell, the snake is described as ‘Shooter of (two) Knives’. This daemon eats the heads of the spirits of the dead.

Due to damage, only part of the fifth mound can be seen. It shows a mummiform figure with a double snake-head holding two sticks or wands and a lion seated alongside.

The mound daemons are characteristic of other Ptolemaic copies of Spell 149.[36] They carry sticks or wands and probably represent gate-keepers responsible for protecting each ‘gate’ in the afterlife. Earlier copies of Spell 149 show gate-keepers characteristically portrayed brandishing knives (p. 33, n. 59).[37]

This coffin was introduced in the last chapter. Here I explore more of its unusual daemons.

Towards the foot of the coffin, on its left-hand side and near the scales, is a male feline-headed daemon. He is in a procession of deities and the deceased (a Chantress) in front of the throne of Osiris. He stands behind the Chantress holding a snake and knife while another snake emerges from his shoulder. Snakes and knives suggest protection (p. 33). In other representations his position in the procession can be taken by two other daemons, She Who Embraces or an ichneumon-headed daemon. All three have similar attributes.[38]

Figure 49. *W1982. Feline-headed male daemon.*

A feline deity like ours, wearing a corselet, wide collar, kilt and bull's tail and described as a porter, sometimes stands near the scales.[39] Feline deities holding knives are common guardians of the Gates in the *Duat* and several female feline-headed greater gods, for example Mut, Sekhmet and Bastet, are either motherly protective cat deities or else aggressive lioness deities. In either case they are solar. Male feline deities are rarer but not uncommon. A male daemon punishes wrongdoers in the Seventh Hour of the *Amduat*

depicted in the tomb of Thutmose III. The solar lion-headed deity Maahes promoting order and justice became particularly popular from the New Kingdom. His cult centre was at Leontopolis. A lion-headed bronze with uraeus of the late Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty in Miho Museum is believed to be the sun-god Horus.[40] Other lion-headed deities, one with the inscription 'Horus, son of Wadjet', have been identified. Thus, male feline-headed deities tend to be protective and solar.

SHE WHO EMBRACES

She Who Embraces is a product of the Twenty-first Dynasty (1069–945 BC), frequently portrayed on coffins and papyri and less commonly on tomb walls. Little has been published on her.[41] In the Twenty-first Dynasty, motifs from several sources were amalgamated, and She Who Embraces is known from several afterlife books: the *Book of the Dead*, the *Litany of Re* and the *Amduat*.

On the Egypt Centre coffin, She Who Embraces guards the entrance to a mound in which can be seen three other daemons, Ammut, Heka and a snake daemon (fig. 51). As she is integral to the mound, I briefly describe it. To the right of the door is a scene divided horizontally by a snake. Below the snake is a double staircase upon which two Ammut daemons rest their front paws and behind them are vultures holding feathers. Vultures are often shown protecting Osiris.[42] The staircase represents the Primeval Hill.[43] Within the mound Osiris is resurrected and above it he sits in judgement.[44] This mound appears in the judgement hall in the *Book of the Night* and more particularly in the *Book of Gates* 5, and is associated with Ma'at.[45] The mound contains a *sema*-sign representing unification.[46]

The unification theme is reinforced by the symmetry of a hawk-headed deity (probably Re) and Osiris, seated back-to-back atop the mound. Unification of the two was necessary for rebirth. The motif also recalls the back-to-back thrones of the *heb-sed*, a festival marking the renewal of the king's power and right to rule. In front of each back-to-back deity stand other deities, including Thoth, Heka and Isis. Heka is discussed in more detail below (pp. 122–3), but briefly, he represents the creative energy crucial for rebirth. The back-to-back deities are also reminiscent of the *Book of Gates* judgement scene.

Figure 50. *W1982. She Who Embraces.*

The whole vignette represents Osiris enthroned on the Primeval Mound of the Otherworld, with 'She Who Embraces' guarding the door. This is a scene of triumph, of successful judgement and Solar-Osirian unification and resurrection.[47] On other coffins She who Embraces stands outside the mound of Osiris, leads the dead in the procession to Osiris, or stands by the scales, all scenes which are parts of the larger judgement narrative.[48]

On coffin Basel III 129, a snake-headed goddess, presumably Hepet-hor, even checks the balances.[49] On the coffin of Ankhor in Norwich Castle she stands beside the balance with a flame symbol above her head.

On W1982, She Who Embraces holds a knife in each hand and snakes emerge from under her feet. She wears a tight, patterned dress and a crocodile headdress and has the face of a lion. In front of her is a strange object, probably a bunch of onions representing rebirth.[50] Onions were offered to the deceased and to the deity Sokar at Sokar festivals in order to repel snakes, who might hinder rebirth.[51]

She who Embraces is known by many names and epithets. On the Egypt Centre coffin, the hieroglyphs to the left of her head may describe her. While they are not clear, the signs for *netjer* (nTr, god) and *Duat* (dwAt, Otherworld) are apparent. The whole could possibly read 'Mistress of the Underworld' (transliteration, Hnt dwAt) or 'Great God of the Otherworld' (transliteration, *nTr aA dwAt*). Elsewhere, this daemon is usually called Hepethor (Hpt.t-Hr, 'Embracing of Horus') or Embracing of the *Duat* (transliteration, Hpt.tdwAt).[52] She is also known as 'Embracing of Osiris', 'the Lady of the West', 'The Eye of Re', etc.[53] Other names include 'Selqet the Great, the Divine Mother' Sekhmet or Dechty.[54] On the coffin of Nespawershefyt in the Fitzwilliam Museum she is called 'Mistress of the West, Eye of Re, Ruler of the Two Lands, Lady of Terrors in the God's Realm, Secret of Appearances, Foremost of the Underworld, Great One, Guardian next to the scales on the day of the weighing of the heart'.[55]

Other embracing deities may be related to her. On the Third Intermediate Period (1069–945 BC) Papyrus of Nespaheren is a daemon with crocodile headdress and lioness face called Saryt.[56] The accompanying text shows her similarity with She Who Embraces: 'O Saryt, that has come from the West, give thy arms to embrace the face of the Osiris … Hide him in thy arms. Drive away pain from him. There shall no evil come to pass upon his mummy any day'.[57] In the *Book of the Day* Saryt ensures the progress of the solar boat.

She Who Embraces may have the head of a snake, a crocodile, a lion, or all three. The snake and the crocodile were both emissaries of the solar god in curse formulae of the Old and Middle Kingdom and both could be either adversaries of Re or protectors.[58] On Papyrus Cairo 40014, the deity wears the white crown, though she sometimes wears the *atef*.[59] Her solar aspects are shown by her titles and the uraeus which she often wears.

She Who Embraces, in keeping with many other female deities, is protective. This is indicated by her holding knives and snakes, sometimes

with her feet.[60] Both knives and snakes are particularly apt for protecting portals.[61] An upright snake with knives sometimes replaces her in guarding the Judgement Hall, for example in the Theban Papyrus of Taminiu, dating to the Third Intermediate Period (1069–945 BC).[62] More generally, upright snakes without legs and knives guard doorways.

She Who Embraces specifically protects Osiris.[63] She is often shown guarding the approach to the judgement of Osiris and in doorways leading either to the judgement hall or to the balance. Lisa Swart discusses her association with other lion, vulture and crocodile-headed deities, forming syncretic combinations.[64] These include Meritseger, Saryt and Nekhbet, all deities with a protective function.

In several *Litany of Re* manuscripts she is one of a series of mummiform deities witnessing the birth of Re-Osiris.[65]

In the *Litany of Re* Papyrus of Mutemwia (Papyrus British Museum 10007), there is even a male figure called ‘Lord of Embraces’. The figure seems to provide protection during the critical moment of rebirth, though it has been seen as a provider of provisions.[66]

It is possible that this She Who Embraces was connected with, though not identical to, the goddess Werethekau who was seen as a protector of male sun-gods. Werethekau was also associated with royal coronations, i.e. ‘raising-up’ of mortals from the New Kingdom, and in early depictions appears on stela of chantresses. Like ‘She Who Embraces’ she was sometimes depicted wearing a royal crown and is also strongly associated with the *Duat*.

In a scene from the Eleventh Hour of the *Amduat*, She Who Embraces holds the sungod aloft (the Papyrus is in the Nelson Atkin Museum of Art, Kansas City).[67] This has been interpreted as the goddess carrying the sun-god in her arms, giving meaning to her name, ‘She Who carries Horus’. Swart describes a similar depiction of her on another papyrus.[68] Either male or female figures can be depicted raising the sun-disk and are associated with transference of life-force as well as Solar-Osirian rebirth (p. 91).

There is at least one instance where on first glance the figure does not easily fit into concepts of either judgement or Solar-Osirian union. A snake-headed deity holding two knives and leading four men carrying torches is labelled ‘Embracing of Horus’. Piankoff interprets this as the Opening of the Mouth Scene.[69] However, this scene may represent the ritual of four torches,

which is associated with raising the dead through light, the protection of Osiris, Solar-Osirian unification and the gates of the Otherworld. Torches were needed to get through the gates of the Otherworld and, like She Who Embraces, were associated with doorways.

There is a very similar figure to She who Embraces on the Egypt Centre's coffin fragment W1050 (pp. 87–8).

THE MOUND SNAKE

The mound is described above (pp. 116–17). A snake divides the seated gods who are back-to-back from the lower section of the mound.[70] The snake's identity is debatable. It is possibly a protector of Osiris, or Re-Osiris and as such may be Mehen (discussed below pp. 123–4).[71]

Alternatively, it may be Apep who daily threatens Re's sky journey. In the Seventh Hour of the *Amduat*, Isis and Heka perform a spell to protect the sun-god from the snake daemon, Apep, the Nehaher (Face of Terror).[72] Perhaps it does not matter if the snake was evil or benign. Both were tools of rebirth. In the tomb of Ramesses VI, Khepri is reborn from the inverted arch formed by the body of Apep.[73]

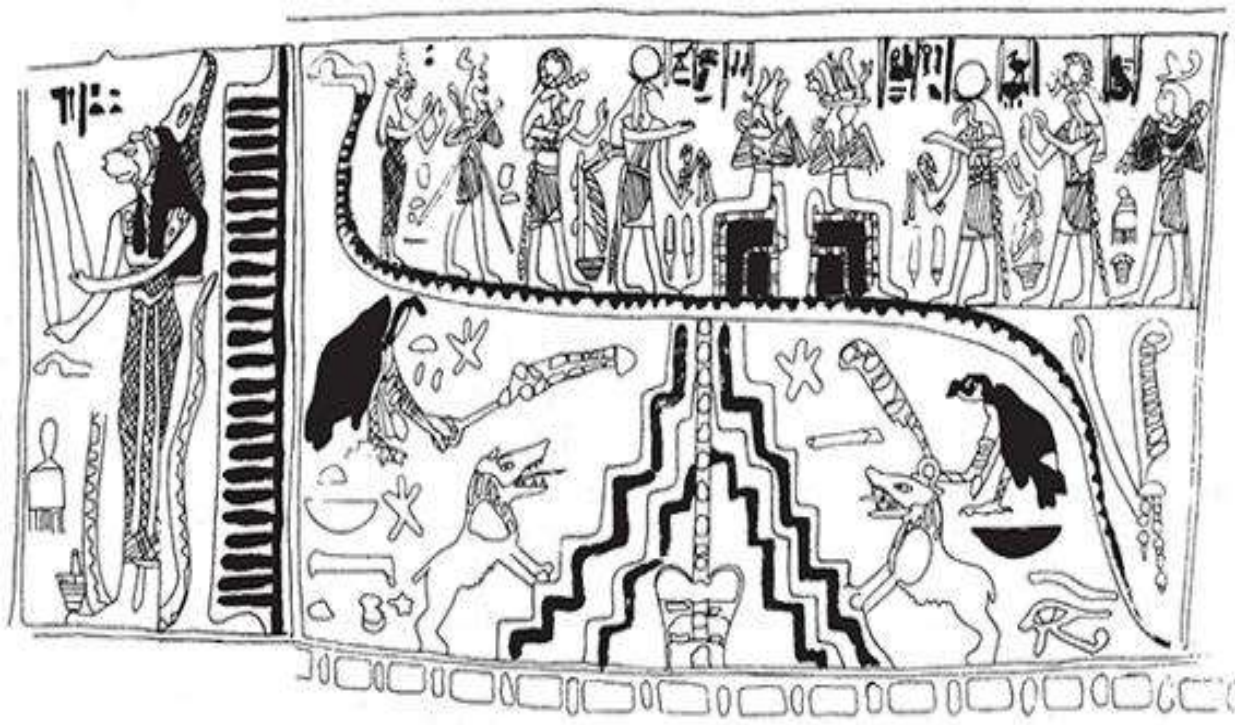


Figure 51. *W1982. Osiris on the mound scene.*

AMMUT (THE DEVOURER)

Below the snake are two figures symmetrically placed with front paws upon the steps of a double staircase. They have the foreparts of crocodiles, the hindparts of hippopotami and the middle parts of lions (or leopards).[74] Both have open mouths, revealing a long tongue and sharp teeth. The same creature also appears at the foot of the throne of Osiris, near the right leg of Re-Harakhty. Dog-like, she puts her forefeet on the steps of the throne. The creature is Ammut.

Her position at the steps of the throne and turned away from the balance is characteristic of the Twenty-first Dynasty (1069–945 BC).[75] Her teats are first illustrated at this date and in the vignette of Osiris enthroned she also wears a modius headdress similar to those worn by women. Her name is not indicated on the Egypt Centre coffin but elsewhere it is Ammut (*mt, mwtw*, devouress of the dead) or similar.[76] Ammut was a devourer of the hearts of the unjustified dead.

She is arguably first depicted in the Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1292 BC) *Book of the Dead* of Nakht.[77] However, she was possibly a recombination of the earlier lion hippopotamus daemon depicted on Middle Kingdom wands (p. 24) and the crocodile of the Seventh Hour of the *Amduat*, who is unable to eat the '*ba* of him who has the prerequisite knowledge'.[78] One of Tutankhamun's beds perhaps represents an intermediary step. It is decorated with the head of a hippopotamus, but has a crocodile's body and lion legs and bears the words 'Beloved of Ammut'.[79]

As we have seen (p. 43), hippopotami were classed as 'water pigs' which undoubtedly connected Ammut with Shay (Shai, Shaii), Taweret, Ipet and Seth. In some cases she was interchanged with them. Shay was associated with fate and destiny and often present in judgement scenes. In the Greenfield Papyrus, for example, Shai replaces Ammut, in the mound scene. On a Twenty-first Dynasty coffin, a figure resembling the Devourer (crocodile head, lion forepart and hippopotamus hind end) is even labelled as Shai.[80] Shai can mean 'pig', or Seth and Seth could be shown as a pig.[81] A pig is labelled 'Devourer' in Gate 5 of the *Book of Gates*, unsurprising given that this is a judgement scene and includes both a staircase and Osiris (p. 116).

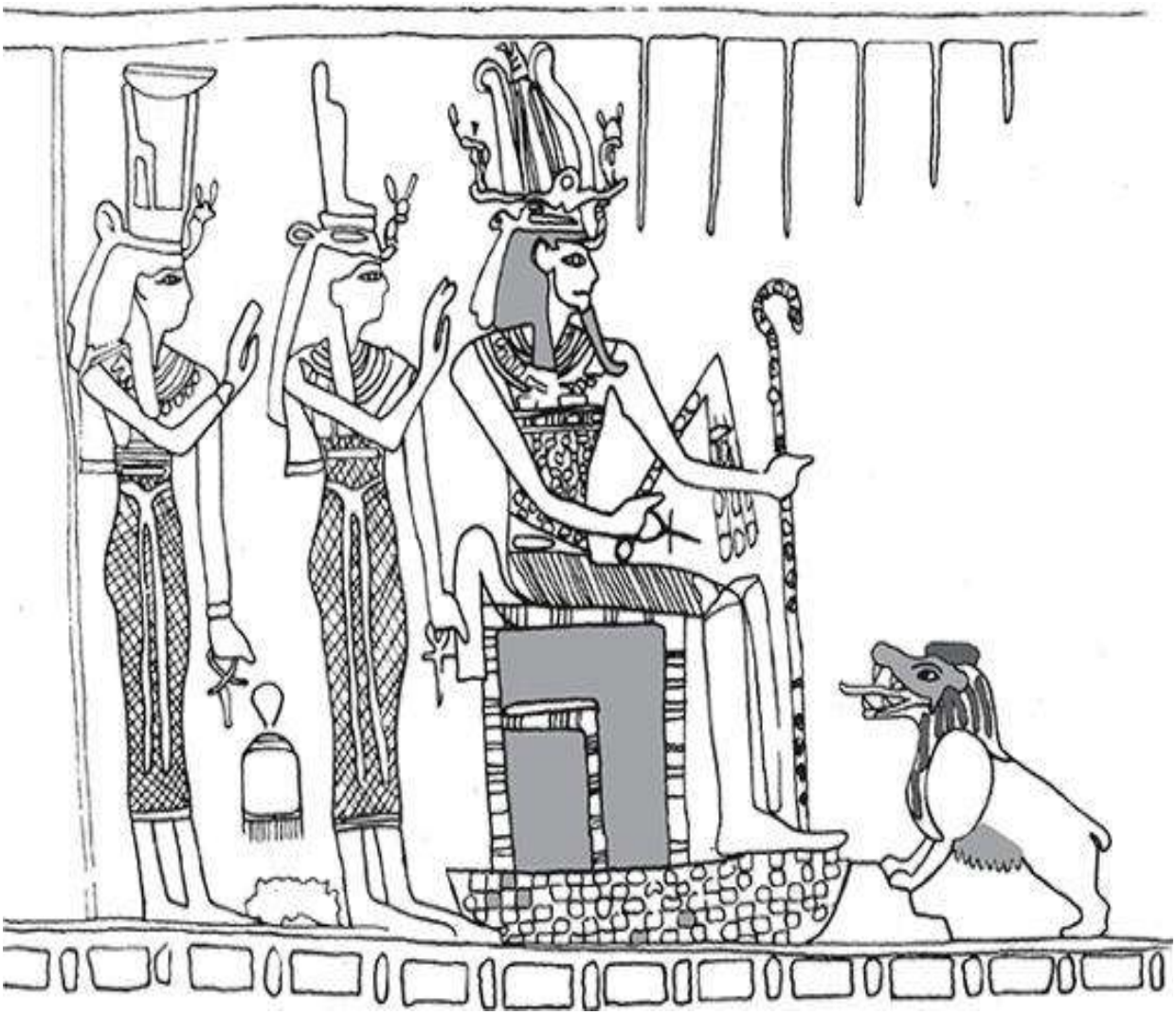


Figure 52. *W1982. Ammut the Devourer.*

GODS IN THE SNAKE

Three deities stand in the coils of a serpent, in a shrine.[82] They possibly represent great gods, and thus should not be included in this volume. But what of the snake? Surely, s/he is a daemon?

Variants of this scene appear on coffins and papyri.[83] The combination of gods on the Swansea coffin corresponds to the 'classical form', with a ram in the middle between a lioness (right) and a jackal (left). The gods are usually anonymous, or called 'great gods, lords of the Netherworld'. When they are named, the ram is once called Re, once Re-Khepri and often Osiris.

Lionesses are usually called Isis, and the jackal is variously called Anubis, Duamutef, Nephthys and often Horus. On one coffin, the gods are captioned 'lord of gods, Osiris'.[84] On the Twentieth Dynasty (1186–1069 BC) coffin of Imhotep the 'caption' reads: 'The secret gods who are in their secret places. They are in the coils of the serpent in order that their nature should be hidden.'[85] Note the emphasis on the hidden (p. 15), important for transformation. Finally, in one papyrus, the gods are the Four Sons of Horus.[86] All these examples suggest the secret *Duat*, the domain of Osiris, emphasised on the Egypt Centre coffin through the presence of a star.[87]

This scene may refer to the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat*, in which Re-Osiris is reborn within the protective coils of the serpent.[88] The ram in the middle coil often represents the nocturnal version of Re. Alternatively, the snake may be a hostile force which must be defeated before rebirth can take place.[89] In some versions of the motif the serpent is cut by knives to limit its malevolence.[90] However, there are motifs where gods in the snake without knives are placed near to depictions of another snake being cut by knives.[91] One might expect that had the snake with the gods been dangerous, it too would be cut by knives. However, as stated above, both benevolent and benign snakes could be associated with rebirth. The vignette might alternatively represent *Book of the Dead* 18.[92] In this spell the three gods of the Great Tribunal in Abydos are called Osiris, Isis and Wepwawet (though one version mentions Anubis instead of Wepwawet). It is of course possible that the nature of the snake was deliberately ambiguous, representing protective rebirth as well as the necessary defeat of enemies.

NUT

Nut is depicted on the left-hand side of W1982 as the sky arched over her brother Geb, the earth. Although there are no temples or cult statues dedicated to her until the Graeco-Roman Period, she is often considered a goddess.[93] She personified the sky and was the mother of all the gods and the deceased.[94] The *Duat* was sometimes said to be within her body, from which the sun was daily reborn (p. 91) and the coffin represented the goddess, within whose body the deceased were reborn. Nut is said to embrace the deceased and in doing so imparts her vitality.

Nut is first mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts*, though depictions of her stretching over the heavens begin in the New Kingdom, becoming particularly popular at Thebes during the tenth and eleventh centuries BC.[95] In the *Book of Nut* illustrated in the Nineteenth Dynasty (1295–1186 BC) cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos is an early version showing the goddess as an all enclosing nude woman supported by Shu. Here is recorded the myth how the earth god Geb quarrelled with Nut and was angry with her because she was swallowing her children.

The developed scene shown on W1982 includes Geb reclining under Nut. It probably relates to the Heliopolitan creation myth which begins with the self-creating god Atum, who also created Shu and Tefnut. Their union resulted in Geb and Nut, who were separated from one another by Shu, the dry air. With the help of Thoth, the couple were allowed five days outside the regular year to be together and from their coupling Seth, Isis, Nephthys and Osiris were born. In New Kingdom and later iconography, Nut's nudity may allude to her sexual union with Geb.

Figure 53. *W1982. Gods in the snake.*

Figure 54. *W1982. Nut separated from Geb.*

On W1982 Nut is arched over several figures as well as Geb. On each side of her are symbols of the West. In other similar scenes, the goddess is depicted with stars and the feathers of the West are shown.[97] Sometimes a baboon-headed god replaces Shu, thereby reinforcing the idea of daybreak (baboons welcoming the new day).[98]

The nightly/*Duat* location is indicated by ram-headed deities.[99] Rams are associated with the *ba*, which in turn is associated with the solarised and reborn Osiris.[100] The separation scene often includes the sun-boat of Re depicted above Nut, thus reinforcing the concept of the daily rebirth of the sun-god with whom the deceased was associated.

The headdress on the central standing figure shows that here Heka supports Nut.[101] Heka was both a concept and a deity. As a concept, *heka* is

the term sometimes translated by modern writers as ‘magical’ or ‘supernatural’ powers, but for the ancient Egyptians ‘magical power’ was integral to, not outside, religion. Additionally, modern writers, unlike the ancient Egyptians, tend to refer to ‘magic’ pejoratively.

Heka was known as a deity from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period.[102] Wherever Heka was venerated, he was represented as the oldest child of the creating divinity. From the late Fifth Dynasty (2494–2345 BC), priests of Heka were also physicians. However, there is no concrete evidence of a formal cult centre until the Graeco-Roman Period. In the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*, Heka was the *ba* of Re and in later periods he was one of the *ka*s of Re.

On Twenty-first Dynasty coffins, Heka was commonly associated with Osiris, particularly in mound scenes.[103] On the Egypt Centre coffin, the miraculous nature of the mound scene is indicated by the double appearance of Heka, personifying the creative energy of the creator-god’, essential for rebirth (fig. 51).[104] Above the mound, on either side of the two back-to-back thrones, is a symmetrical arrangement of gods approaching the throne of Osiris-Re, identified by hieroglyphs and their headdresses. Thoth with Ibis head stands in front of Osiris-Re. Behind Thoth stands Harakhty (Horus of the Horizon) and behind Harakhty, Heka. Heka wears the ‘hindpart of a lion’ (pHty) on his head. The sign symbolises strength and creative power, possibly alluding to Shu and Tefnut as the lions of the horizon.[105] In the left half of the scene Heka carries two crossed serpents, probably wands, and Isis stands behind him. Isis and Thoth were both powerful magicians, which perhaps explains their inclusion here. In the right half Heka is only identifiable by his headdress.

One of the unusual things about the Swansea coffin is the replacement of Shu by Heka in the scene of Nut stretched over Geb (fig. 54). There are two other published examples.[106] One is the coffin of Nespawershefyt.[107] On the interior of the coffin lid the deity wears the *heka*-sign on his head and is labelled ‘Heka great lord of the sky’ (HkA nTr aA nb pt). The other example is presumably from a coffin in the British Museum.[108] Again, the deity wears the *heka*-sign upon his head. In other contemporary depictions of the raising of Nut, Heka is present, though not as a manifestation of Shu. He is instead a ‘subsidiary figure’; for example, on the Greenfield Papyrus Heka is kneeling.[109]

Shu and Heka are both transformative.[110] On Twenty-first Dynasty (1069–945 BC) coffins, Heka was associated with creation and revival; for example he appears in the mound motif discussed above, a scene replete with rebirth symbolism. In the *Coffin Texts*, they were both the first-born of Atum.[111]

W1307 OUROBOROS/MEHEN

This is a Late Twenty-sixth Dynasty (*c*.600–525 BC) upper part of the foot of an anthropoid coffin from Thebes [fig. 55]. It measures 33.5cm x 20cm and is covered with a thin layer of linen and plaster. The polychrome decoration shows the winged goddess Isis between *wedjat* eyes. The several columns of hieroglyphs are from the *Book of the Dead.* Along the top is a snake, whose head and tail overlap. It is sometimes claimed that such snakes are ouroboros daemons.[112] However, recent research by Dana Reemes suggests otherwise.[113]

Isis is usually depicted at the foot of coffins and her sister Nephthys at the top; and coffins of this date often show a snake around the foot base. After the early seventh century BC, Isis was often shown on the upper surface of the feet of coffins.[114] On W1307, Isis, with green skin and holding two feathers, is almost identical to representations on other Twenty- sixth Dynasty footboards.[115] It will be noticed that the hieroglyphs are upside down for an observer, though for the deceased they are the correct way round. This practice began in the Nineteenth Dynasty (1295–1186 BC) and is common by the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (*c*.600–525 BC).[116]

But here we are concerned with the snake. On inner footboards of Twenty-first Dynasty coffins the snakes bite their own tails, while snakes on Saite Period coffins only have head and tail touching; there is no biting.[117] Reemes sees the Twenty-sixth Dynasty snakes as protecting the unified and mummiform Re-Osiris and additionally as a symbol of the perimeter of the cosmos. Crucially, Reemes claims the snake has nothing to do with Apep or eternity, as is sometimes claimed.

The idea of the ouroboros as a symbol of eternity, renewal and cyclical time dates from the European Renaissance and has little to do with ancient Egypt. In Egypt the coiled snake was related to the deity Mehen (literally, ‘coiled one’) who dates from the Predynastic Period. In *Coffin Texts*, Mehen is not a snake but rather an outer black circle. In *Coffin Text* Spells 758–760,

Mehen is the circuit of Re and the boat of Mehen is essentially the solar boat. By the New Kingdom, coiled serpents may be labelled 'Mehen'.[118] The deceased could be reborn from within the protective coils of Mehen.[119] It is plausible that the Egyptians did not actually believe that a snake surrounded the cosmos but rather saw this as symbolising a reality which could not be otherwise depicted.[120]

The name 'ouroboros' comes from the Greek word meaning 'tail-devouring'. However, the Egyptian term 'tail in mouth' (sd-m-rA) did not occur in Egypt as a term for a coiled snake, but rather as a term referring to 'close confinement' or 'in a group', like corralled animals. The term later incorporated allusions to the violent sacrifice of such animals. The serpent holding his tail in his mouth first emerges as an unambiguous depiction in the tomb of Tutankhamun, which dates from the fourteenth century BC. In the second golden shrine, the text concerns Re and his union with Osiris. The accompanying illustrations include two serpents holding their tails in their mouths and coiled around the head and feet of an enormous god, who may represent the unified Re-Osiris. Both serpents are labelled as 'Mehen'. In other funerary texts Mehen protects Re in his Otherworld journey.

Mehen, therefore, is connected with the circuit of Re, is a sky deity and the dead can be reborn from within his coils. It seems quite possible that the snake in the mound (p. 118) and the 'gods in the snake' (pp. 120–21) also represent Mehen.

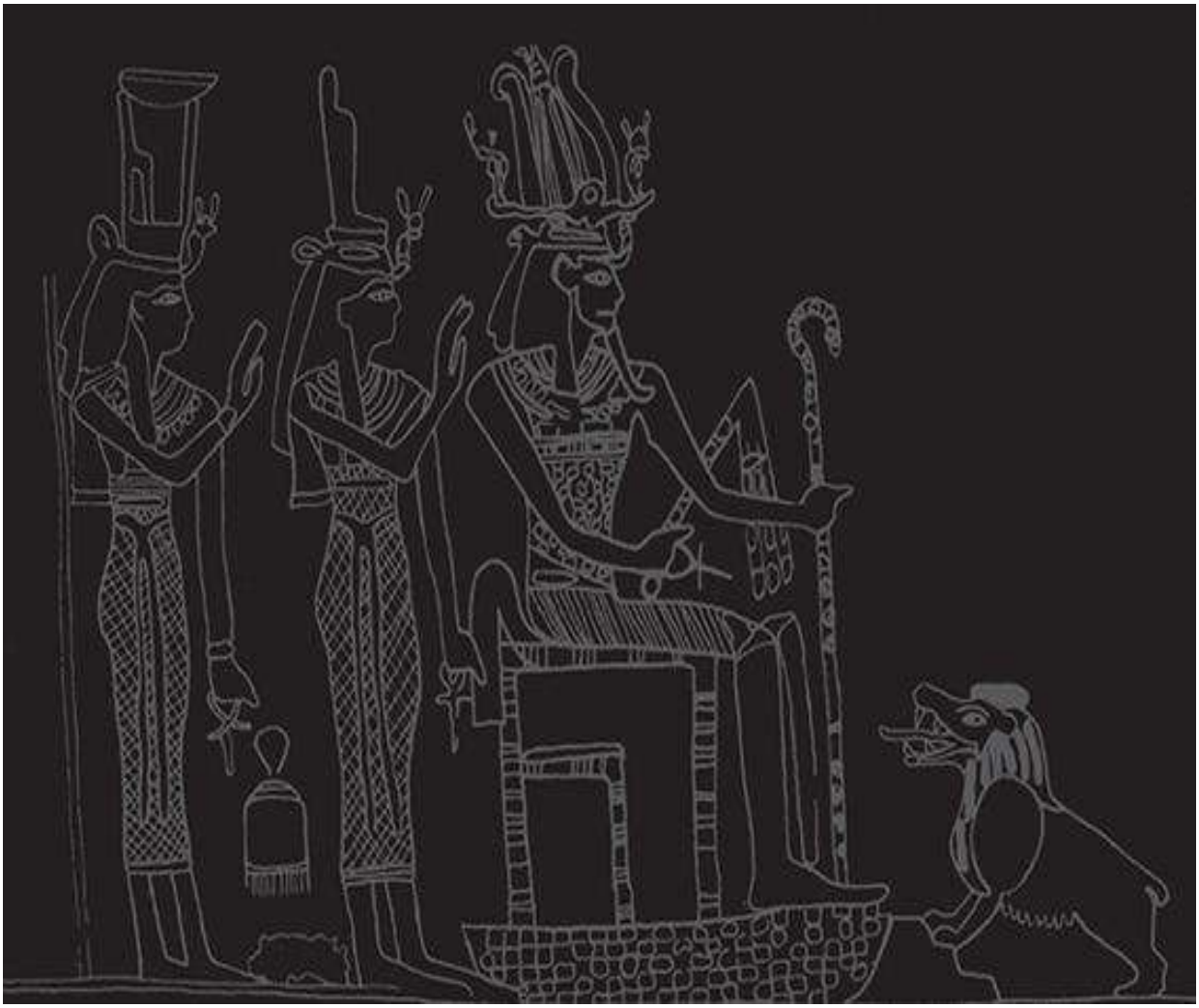
WIND DAEMONS

Finally, the Centre holds two fragments of Graeco-Roman cartonnage from the Wellcome collection that show winged serpents (W870 and W945). W870 is a double-winged animal wearing rams horns and a solar-disk, who carries the deceased on its tail. In front of it is an offering table. The animal perhaps represents the ram-headed sun-god, the unified Re and Osiris, or else one of the winds, helpers of the dead.[121] A similar animal is shown on Soter's coffin of the Graeco-Roman Period.[122]

W945 is similar but more griffin-like, in that it has the head of a raptor. However, ancient Egyptian griffins tended to have feline bodies. It has only one set of wings, has a solar-disk on its head and carries the deceased on its tail.

Figure 55. *W1307. Coffin fragment showing the Ouroboros.*

Figure 56. *W870 and W945 Wind daemons.*



SEVEN
‘QUASI-DAEMONS’

KINGS, MUMMIFIED ANIMALS and divine statues might not be generally considered daemons today, but such thinking is not universal. I have used the word ‘quasi-daemons’ to describe these entities. On first glance it seems they can be separated from true daemons, in that quasi-daemons host the deity. On closer inspection, the situation is more complicated.

Distinguishing between ‘quasi-daemons’ and ‘true gods’ is not a new problem, nor one confined to Egyptology. The second-century classical diviner Artemidorus argued that there was little distinction between seeing an actual deity and a statue of it.[1] Whether a host contains a god or the god exists as a separate being, the outcome is the same: the god can act. If one claims to see a person when what one sees is their living body, is that different from claiming to a see a god when seeing their ‘living’ statue (body)?

It has been said that one may distinguish between primary agents (true divine agents) and secondary agents; the first is the source of power, the second that mediating its presence. The second represents only a manifestation of a divinity, in such a way that hundreds of gods can be present on earth at any one time. But while most Egyptologists see the *ba, ka*, etc. as parts of the individual, others claim that belief in a distributed self means these entities were manifestations, that is, different ways of seeing the whole individual (p. 92).

For the secondary agent divinity is temporary and induced.[2] In the case of divine statues and, possibly, kings, divinity is not intrinsic but induced through rituals. So perhaps these criteria could be used to separate quasi-daemons from true divinity. But as rituals can be argued to have been an extension of the act of creation, similar to birth and manufacturing, what we

are really saying is that the quasi-daemons were those created on earth. Sculptors were not simply craftsmen but had duties overlapping with those of priests. The chief priest of the deity Ptah had the epithet 'greatest of artificers'.[3] The act of sculpting a statue was designated *mes* (transliteration, ms), which also means to 'give birth', and a sculptor was 'he who brings to life'. Funeral ritual required 'craftsmen' to transfigure the deceased.[4] 'Rituals' could involve building and manufacture.[5]

The result is sometimes termed 'indwelling' (*Einwohnung*) by Egyptologists. One could argue that this term has very Judaeo-Christian associations.[6] Basically, however, in order to see the difference we must follow our own classification systems and impose them upon the past, much as I did with the definition of daemons in the introduction.

In the case of possession, the possessed is clearly the secondary agent. Certain living, or even inanimate objects could be possessed by gods, daemons and spirits of the dead.[7] The act could be either positive or negative. Possession by daemons, or *mwtw* or *akhw* was called *nesy* (nsy).[8] That it has a name suggests it was seen as different from other forms of indwelling. Possession could be sought by the host or induced by others.

Not enough is known of Egyptian belief systems to make clear exactly what the difference between possession and indwelling was. Magical texts show that, for a spell to become effective, the practitioner must assimilate a deity.[9] Priests too talk with divine authority when carrying out rituals such as the Opening of the Mouth.[10] The gods also dwelt temporarily in divine statues and in 'votive' animal mummies, but these hosts had to be repeatedly vivified to ensure the lasting services of the gods.[11]

One might think of the host of the god as equating to the *hem* (transliteration, Hm, 'incarnation' or 'bodily form' in ancient Egypt). It is a word used of kings, cult statues, scarabs and the mummified Apis.[12] It could be described as a being in action and is similar to Hm, meaning 'servant'.[13] However, I am not sure the word was also used of mummified votive animals.

One may argue that the god, unlike the divinised statue, was only seen in exceptional circumstances.[14] However, divine statues were also hidden. Furthermore, seeing the statue meant seeing the god. God and statue were so connected that gods were described in terms relating to statues. For example, the snake-god in the *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor* had blue skin overlaid

with gold and eyebrows of lapis lazuli. God-children in *Papyrus Westcar* were born with limbs overlaid with gold and wearing lapis lazuli headdresses. The secondary agent influences the source.

Likewise, in the case of divinity in minerals, did gods reflect the qualities of minerals, or did minerals reflect gods?[15] Gold, being shiny and resistant to decay, shared qualities with the sun-god and the blessed dead. The qualities are not simply metaphors but active, divine entities. Shininess and immortality are inherent in the material itself.[16]

KINGS

Some Egyptologists include kings when discussing daemons and gods.[17] Kings possessed a great deal of *heka* and were sometimes called the 'Great God'.[18] The living king was Horus on earth, and the dead king Osiris. However, their status as gods was not intrinsic, making kings secondary agents.

Scholars argue over the degree of divinity which kings were believed to possess. The king was born of the gods but was different from them. He knelt before them and had to be purified before entering their temples. But he was not a mere mortal. The divinity of the king has been explained as a joining of his divine *ka* with his human personality; one could see it as a type of possession. In the New Kingdom, the divine and human natures of the king were fused through rituals but separate during 'secular activities'.[19] In texts, kings were referred to as *hem* (Hm, translated as 'Majesty', but 'incarnation' could be an alternative translation) and *neswt* (nswt, also usually translated as 'king').[20] It has been said that as *hem*, the physical embodiment of the king was intended.[21] As *neswt*, the divine aspect was stressed.

While the degree and precise nature of the king's divinity varied over time, the king's name alone was powerful enough to be used as a 'charm' and the king is invoked in offering formulae.

AMARNA BEZELS

From the reign of Amenhotep III (1390–1352 BC) and culminating in the Amarna Period (1352–1336 BC), the status of king as god became

particularly pronounced. Shrines to the king and his family were erected in homes of private individuals at Amarna. His name was so important that it could act as an amulet and hundreds of ring bezels (the decorative part of the ring) have been found bearing names of kings.

For most of Egyptian history the king had several names stressing his divinity. The prenomen, which is extant on ring bezels, is the divine name given to him on ascending the throne as a recognised god on earth.

Figure 57. *Selected Amarna ring bezels with the names of kings.*

In New Kingdom Thebes, royal cults were expressed in memorial temples, 'Mansions of Millions of Years'. Here the king, often his father, and a principal deity, were worshipped, though the king's human self was also recognised. In the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, Seti is shown making an offering to himself! The existence of a cult is indicative of the divine being a greater god.

Offering cults were celebrated during the king's lifetime and continued after his death; the cult of Thutmose I was still active more than five hunded years after he died.[22] As memorial temples were situated in the royal necropolis and remained there after the king's death, they are often called 'mortuary temples'.

W1371. RELIEF FROM THE MEMORIAL TEMPLE OF THUTMOSE III

Thutmose III (1479–1425 BC) built several memorial temples, for example the Akh-menu at Karnak and the Djeser Akhet at Deir el-Bahri. This relief is from the memorial temple which stood at Qurna, on the west bank at Thebes. It measures 18cm by 15.5cm, is made of sandstone and painted with blue, white and red paint. The square at the top reads '*xnkt 'nx Mn-kxpr-Ra*' (Heneket-ankh Menkheperre), meaning 'Offering Life to Menkheperre'. 'Menkheperre' is the prenomen of Thutmose III and means 'Enduring is the Form of Re'. The item was originally purchased as part of the Robert de Rustafjaell collection by Henry Wellcome at a Sotheby's auction of 20 December 1906.[23]

Figure 58. *W1371. Relief from the memorial temple of Thutmose III.*

The date of building the Henket-ankh is uncertain.[24] It was first mentioned on Hatshepsut's Red Chapel at Karnak.[25] This is dated to *c.*1463 BC.[26] Since proof of the memorial temple's existence is a dedication it seems

likely that the temple was complete at this time. We are not sure how long it continued in use.

QUEENS

Queens, as consorts of the king, were a very different matter. While for much of Egyptian history their iconography mirrored the greater female gods, particularly Hathor, it is difficult to know if they were considered truly divine.[27] New Kingdom divine birth scenes would suggest that queens who did not rule in their own right were not usually divine. In these scenes it is the god who is divine, with the human queen acting as a vessel for the new king. Nevertheless, there were periods when female consorts were particularly important. For example, in the Amarna Period the name of queens appeared, like those of kings, on ring bezels. The office of god's wife of Amun also held at least a semi-divine status.[28]

Things would, of course, have been very different for the few queens who were, like kings, rulers in their own right. Like kings, they would have been in part divine.

PRIESTS

In order to guarantee worship of the gods throughout the land, the king 'delegated' to priests. While the priestly role changed throughout Egyptian history, priests were usually part-time.[29]

They were regarded as servants of the gods and not divine in their own right.[30] However, it is arguable that they 'became' the king during ritual acts.[31] Interestingly, the word used for induction into the office of kingship, the verb *besi* (transliteration, bsi), was the same as that used for a commoner's induction into a priestly office.[32] Deities were also embodied in priests whilst they carried out oracular rituals.[33]

The Egypt Centre has various artefacts associated with priests, including a depiction on a *Book of the Dead* papyrus, W867, showing a priest carrying out the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony (p. 72).

LIVING, EXCEPTIONAL ELITES

We have seen that the dead and statues of them could be divinised, but statues of living members of elites were sometimes divinised too. While normally private individuals could only be deified after death, some of the statues of Amenhotep, son of Hapu were set up during his lifetime so that he could act as an intermediary between the people and the gods.[34]

Amenhotep was born in 1430 BC at Athribis in the Nile Delta. When he was forty years old he moved to the royal court at Thebes and became famous as a scribe, quarter-master general and royal architect. He was Amenhotep III's most important councillor and responsible for many buildings, such as the Colossi of Memnon. He died in his eighties and was buried in a rock-cut tomb in western Thebes. After his death he was revered for his wisdom and from the Late Dynastic Period onwards was worshipped as a god of medicine.

Nearly ten life-size statues of him are known, showing him in the attitude of a scribe ready to intercede for people with the gods. One has the inscription:

> You people from Upper and Lower Egypt … I will transmit your words to Amun in Karnak. Give me an offering and pour a libation for me, because I am an intermediary nominated by the king to hear the requests of the suppliant, to report to him the desires of Egypt.[35]

The Egypt Centre holds two fragments of his sarcophagus, W1367a and W1367b. That these fragments belonged to Amenhotep, son of Hapu can be seen by the four titles on the fragments: overseer of the double granaries; fan bearer on the right side; governor and commander of the army.[36] The sarcophagus is quite unusual. The lid is smoothly curved with a round head-end and a contour that tapers from the shoulders to the flat foot-end. This shape is more usual in later Third Intermediate Period and Late Period sarcophagi than in those of the New Kingdom.

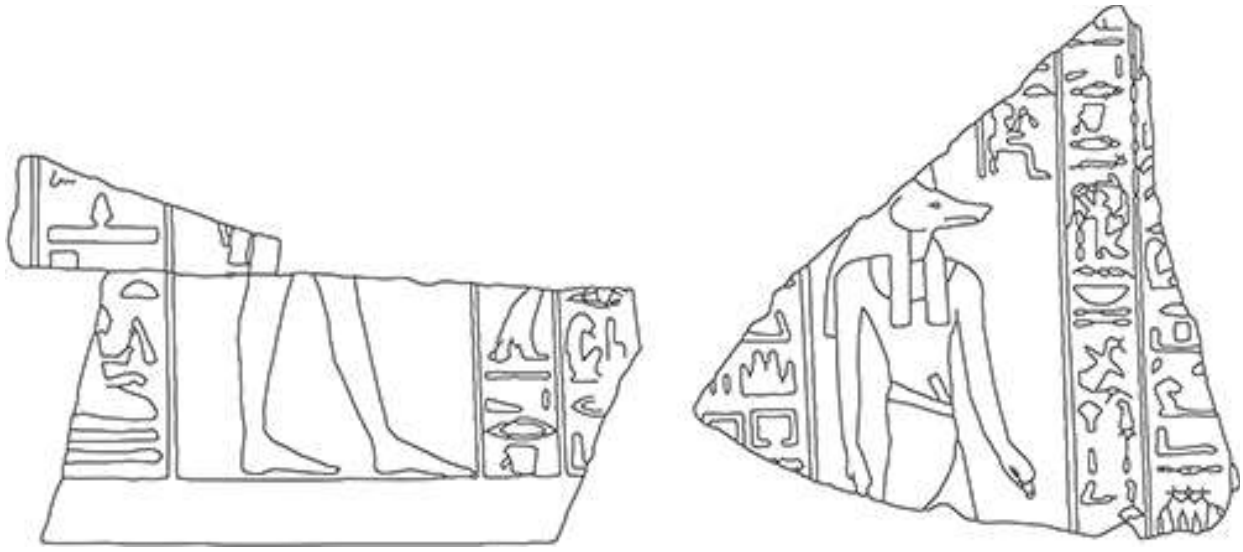


Figure 59. *W1367a and W1367b. Coffin fragments of Amenhotep, son of Hapu.*

THOSE WHO KNOW

Those discussed thus far were the elite, but this group included herdsmen and non-elite women. From the Middle Kingdom to Graeco-Roman times, there are mentions of herdsmen described as *rekhet* (rx-xt, 'those who know'). By the Ptolemaic Period the title *rx-xt* appears alongside priestly titles.[37] Herdsmen as *rx-xt* were accredited with particular powers.[38] Reciters of charms were called 'knowledgable ones of the herdsmen'. Their spells were usually concerned with crossing dangerous rivers, though that their power extended beyond ensuring the safe fording of animals seems to be suggested by the statuette of a herdsman found in the 'magician's box' in the Ramesseum.[39] Papyrus Turin 54065 also refers to 'those who know' (masculine) as those who practice divination using oil and pebbles.[40] While some see this group as professional magicians, others see them as merely 'informed' oxherds.[41]

The *ta rekhet* (tA rxt, 'the woman who knows') is mentioned in several ostraca. Such women were consulted by both men and women, with there being only one *ta rekhet* at any one time. She was able to identify the gods who brought misfortune, look into the future and diagnose illness.[42] She had a deep knowledge of the realms between the living, the gods and the

deceased. In one text the wise woman is consulted concerning the cause of death of a child.[43]

These mysterious women are known only from the New Kingdom village of Deir el-Medina and have no known male equivalents. It is possible, however, that they are referred to elsewhere. On the Thirtieth Dynasty Metternich Stela (380–343 BC), Isis states, 'I am a daughter, a knowing one (*rxt*) in her town, who dispels a poisonous snake with her oral powers. My father has taught me knowledge.'[44]

Of course, in the case of herdsmen and wise women, we cannot be sure that they were possessed or that they were daemonic, they may simply have been knowledgeable.

DIVINATION

A unique papyrus of 1250 BC from the village of Deir el-Medina contains evidence for several techniques used to contact the gods.[45] One technique involved pebbles, perhaps drawn in lots, as attested for the procession oracles, but there was also divination from liquid in bowls. The god communicating was Re, and the person conducting divination was identified with Thoth, lord of knowledge and script. The diviner was identified as the 'knower of things' and purified with incense, natron, and an unidentified substance called *dja'a.*

ADOLESCENT FEMALES

There is evidence that in the New Kingdom adolescent royal daughters were ritually important and that female children of the royal household encouraged the revivication of the king through allusions to the myth of the *Return of the Distant One*.[46] There is also evidence that daughters of private individuals had similar roles in funerary contexts.[47] They were able to channel divine power. But what gave them their special status? It was conceivably the transitional, pure, or perhaps the newly created nature of adolescence.

MUSICIANS AND DANCERS

Musicians and dancers are considered liminal and/or daemonic in several cultures.[48] In ancient Egypt, they were often ritual performers. Music was apotropaic; it was used to scare away birds, and was a tool of the military and those facing gods at funerals and at births. The apotropaic daemon Bes played musical instruments (p. 40).

One might argue that generally sensuality aided transgression of boundaries between the living and dead. Perfume, alcohol and sexual power, as well as music, were all essential to festivals such as the Beautiful Festival of the Valley.[49] Thus, sensual depictions of musicians and dancers had a religious aspect.[50] Their ability to enter other realms may have been shown by depictions of them facing the viewer (p. 18).

DANCING

Certain types of dances were particularly associated with liminal, magical states.[51] Dwarves/pygmies were particularly involved in divine dance, from the Old Kingdom pygmy of Herkhef to the Late Period dwarf Djeho.

The pygmy of Herkhef performed the *iba* (transliteration, ibA) dance, a dance later used to celebrate the newborn sun.[52] The dances of dwarves or pygmies are attested in text from the Middle Kingdom onwards and are said to be farewell dances associated with the departure of the sun and the deceased. The faces of Middle Kingdom statues of dancing dwarves have suggested to some that the dwarves were involved in a shamanistic dance (see this volume, p. 60). The Late Period sarcophagus of the dwarf Djeho explains that he danced for the burials of the Apis and Mnevis bulls, representations of divinity on earth. Both dwarves and bulls had similar powers of fertility, and it seems likely that this dwarf took the role of Ptah-Pataikoi, a creator deity, in dances.[53]

Dance and music, particularly of the Hathorian type, were associated with embodiment. The term for *khenut* priestess musicians/dancers may have been related to the term *khen* (to alight), which describes the goddess Hathor indwelling in her images and symbols and is, moreover, the term used of the *ba*-bird as it unites with the mummy.[54] A text at Philae describing the movements performed by Hathorian musicians in night-time dances has been described as ecstatic: ‘Singers, vital and beautiful, are intoxicated by

speedily moving their legs out before them.'[55] The word intoxicated suggests an altered state of consciousness, perhaps relating to mystic experience.

DWARVES

Dwarves or pygmies may have been classed as daemonic because of their liminal status. It is not always possible to tell if the Egyptians meant dwarves or pygmies.[56] Being short, dwarves and pygmies looked like children, and yet they were not children; that the wrinkles of age were emphasised in depicting the faces of dwarves implies that it was important to realise this. Short adults were also related to the animal world.[57] They were able to communicate between heaven and earth.[58] They are also associated with other exotic groups, including hunchbacks or people from Nubia or Punt. Of course they may also have been considered liminal becauseof their deviation from the norm in terms of height. Not only are there dwarf amulets, but dwarves seem to have been used to enhance the power of magical vessels, for example the travertine boat of Tutankhanum. Dwarfism was usually a positive divine manifestation.[59]

'GROTESQUES'

Throughout history and in various cultures 'ugly' beings have been thought protective, sometimes liminal. We have two Graeco-Roman objects in the Egypt Centre traditionally called 'grotesques'; indeed, an old label on one of the items actually says 'grotesque'. Of course this is imposing a narrow standard of beauty. But why the ancient fascination with these images? Could they, or the individuals they represented, have had special powers akin to daemons?

GR104 (fig. 60) was donated to us by the Egypt Exploration Society via the British Museum in 1978. The forehead is furrowed and the nose flat. The eyes appear to be closed. The arms are possibly drawn up under the chin, suggesting a squatting figure.

EC1290 (fig. 61) also has a furrowed brow. It came to the Egypt Centre as part of the Wellcome collection.

Both of these heads are parts of Graeco-Roman moulded pottery figurines called terracottas (p. 29). Not all terracottas are 'grotesques'; the group

includes gods, Bes figures, animals, Horus the Child, etc.[60] The frog daemon discussed on pp. 27–8 is another example. We are not sure if the heads are from Greece or Egypt, as they are known throughout the Hellenistic world. Egyptian manufacturing sites include Alexandria and Memphis. Egyptian examples tend to be solid and hand-made and ones made in Greece are hollow and mould-made, so it seems most likely that GR104 was made in Greece and EC1290 in Egypt.

Figure 60. *GR104. A so-called 'grotesque'.*

Figure 61. *EC1290. 'Grotesque' with furrowed brow*.

The visual arts of the period show a fascination with people exhibiting non-'standard' forms, and these are rightly or wrongly categorised as one group.[61] They usually depict males with exaggerated features and sometimes deformities. Petrie believed that these were representations of foreigners, though this idea has since been discounted.[62] It has also been suggested that they are influenced by theatrical masks. Their use is unclear, though it seems that at least some were votives and placed in temples and tombs; many were found on domestic sites, though whether as votives in household shrines is debatable.

It seems likely that such images were considered apotropaic.[63] This would explain why many 'grotesques' were phallic (also an apotropaic feature) and produced in large quantities, and also why they were placed in temples and

tombs. Perhaps they are in the tradition of apotropaic figures such as Bes and the satyrs with whom they share the furrowed brow characteristic. Or, of course, they may represent famous actors depicted with exaggerated, caricatured, masks.

EC1301 AND EC1302: DAEMONS OR ACTORS?

These are fragments of pottery pot supports for braziers. Whether they were domestic items or used for ritual cooking is unknown. Each fragment is about 10cm high. Both are part of the Wellcome collection, but it is not known from where Wellcome collected them. Braziers were used for cooking and heating and possibly as portable altars. Some depicted a figure with an upright hair style, pointed ears and a long, jutting-out beard. The heads faced inwards, with the beards functioning as props or supports on which to stand pots and each brazier having three props.

Such braziers were used throughout the Hellenistic world from around 200 BC to ad 100, and Egyptian examples copied Greek ones. The provenance of the Egypt Centre examples is unknown, though the erect hairstyles they wore in preference to the pilos, a type of conical hat worn by Hephaistos and other fire daemons, indicate Egyptian origins.[64] Large quantities have been found at Alexandria and were probably made there, while others were found in quantities at Naucratis. Petrographic examination of Egyptian examples suggests they were made of Nile silt.[65]

The figure depicted is usually identified as a satyr or the daemon Seilenos (Selenos), a follower of Dionysus and associated with intoxication. The pointed ears on some, including EC1301 and EC1302, is congruent with their being satyrs.[66] It is also claimed that the motif derives from theatrical masks. According to the Greek historian Dionysios of Halikarnassos, when dancers dressed as satyrs followed Greek custom, they wore ‘fright wigs’, that is, the hair stood up.[67] This hairstyle may have copied the way hair was combed back to cover the onkos, the cone shaped projection on Greek tragic masks used to give the mask impressiveness.[68] Julius Pollux (Onom IV, 143ff), writing in the second century ad, lists seventy-six types of masks in his encyclopaedia of masks. Number sixteen is a man in prime of life and has a ‘wedge-shaped’ beard and an onkos.[69]

Figure 62. *EC1301 and EC1302. Brazier fragments showing daemons or actors?*

But why should a satyr or an actor dressed as one appear on a brazier? The pilos-wearing figure is found on many brazier supports, and it has alternatively been suggested that these depict Hephaistos, or lesser fire daemons.[70] There is a Greek myth about a protective tripod built by Hephaistos as protection and Greek literature suggests that clay images near fire were protective.[71] However, perhaps we need not expect a fire connection. Occasionally, bulls or roses or even other theatrical masks are used as decorative elements on braziers.[72]

Several writers have suggested that these are apotropaic grotesque faces.[73] In Greece such masks decorate ovens, though not always as pot lugs. It may be that the idea of the theatre-derived bearded support (possibly, like the 'grotesque' figures) is in the tradition of 'grotesque' characters such as Bes, also a performer of music and dance. Indeed, some figures were part Bes and part Selenos.[74]

CULT STATUES, VOTIVE OBJECTS AND ANIMALS

The bodies of deceased animals and humans were hardened through mummification to be like stone and were often posed like statues.[75] Divinising statues and mummified humans and animals required the 'Opening of the Mouth Ceremony'. There is even a possibility that the ceremony might have been performed upon non-animal offerings. Some further argue that cult statues shared the 'fate of the Osirian deceased', with the Daily Cult Ritual for the statue being essentially the same as the funerary ritual; the idea is however debatable.[76] What does seem clear is that, in the case of a cult statue, the *ba* of the god dwelt in the statue, resulting in the uniting of the god's *ba* with his body, something humans also desired for their own death. Texts at Edfu explain that 'the god rests in (his) august shrine after his *ba* is united with the image of his *ka*'.[77]

Votive offerings are a feature of Egyptian piety throughout the pharaonic period.[78] The Egypt Centre holds many, from Middle Kingdom faience balls to Graeco-Roman copper alloy statuettes of gods. While it seems quite possible that votives were believed to act as transmitters between god and living human, the operation which enabled this is vague. An abbreviated version of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony may have been used, thus opening the possibility that they could conceivably have hosted the *ba* of a god.[79] But this remains conjecture.

NON-HUMAN ANIMALS

In the story of the *Return of the Distant Goddess*, as related at Philae, animals are placed between the greater gods and humans.[80] While non-human animals were used and abused as food, etc., at times specific individual animals were gods, an idea which caused the Egyptians to be ridiculed by the Romans. Some of these god-animals, such as the Apis bull, the Buchis bull, etc. were incarnations of a god on earth and only one could exist at any given time. The situation was slightly different for 'votive animal mummies', which occurred in their thousands, with each one a god.

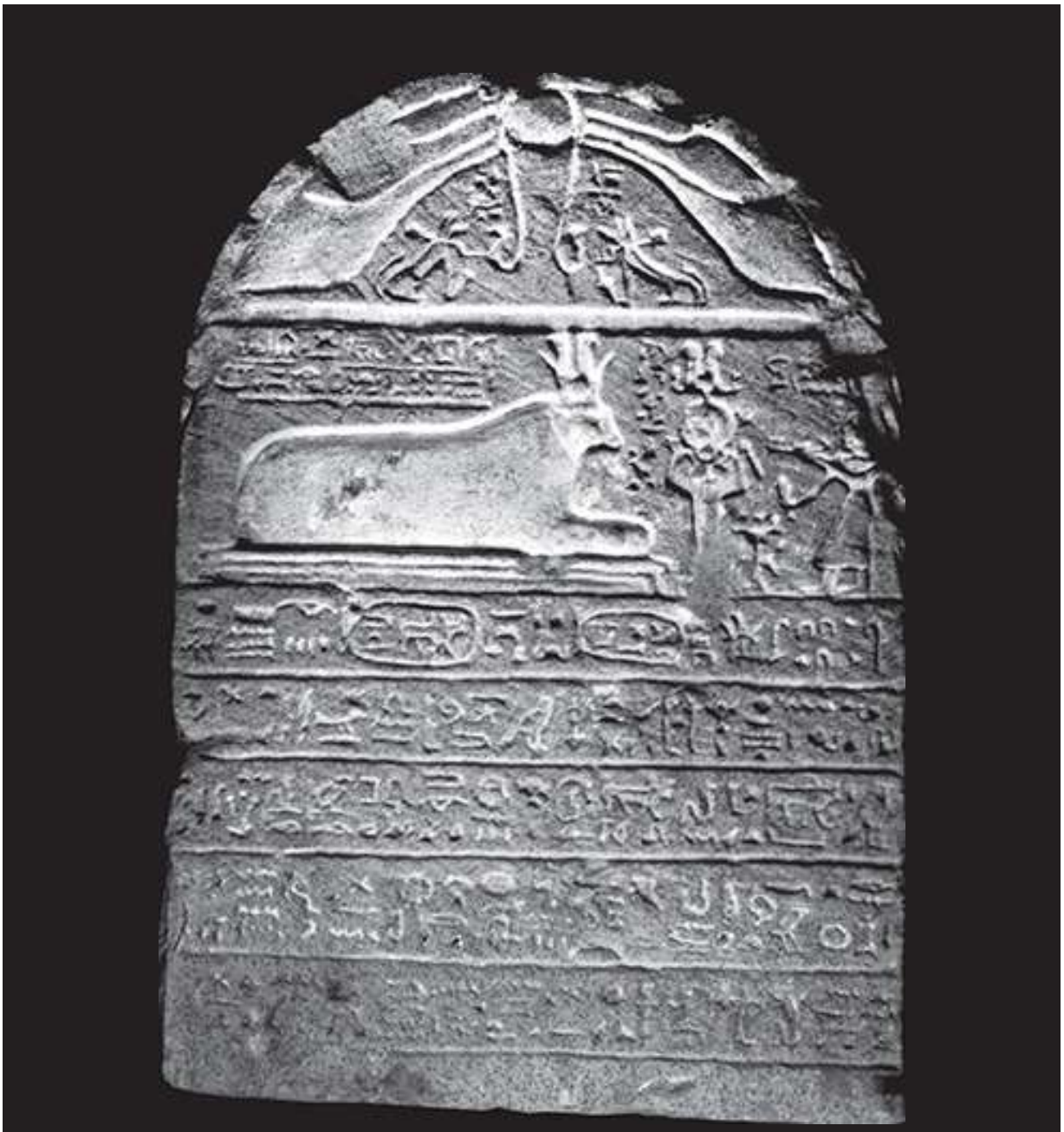


Figure 63. *W946. Stela to the mother of the Buchis bull.*

These are coffin clamps (fig. 64). Cows would have been placed on a board and copper clamps like this attached to the board. Linen bandages were then tied across the body and attached to the clamps, ensuring that the cow stayed in place while it was lowered into a coffin. Outer clamps acted as a means to attach ropes to lower the animal into the coffin. The Apis Papyrus, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,

describes the rituals for the mummification of the Apis bull but it seems similar rites were carried out on the Buchis bull and its mother.[81] For example, the papyrus states that twenty-two coffin clamps should be used and the burials of the Buchis and the mother of the Buchis contained between twenty-one and twenty-three clamps.[82]

These three footboards (fig. 65) from coffins all show the Apis bull. The Apis carried the deceased into the afterlife and is often shown on the footboard of coffins dating to the Third Intermediate and Late Periods (1069–332 BC), sometimes with the mummy on its back.

This stela (fig. 63), found in front of tomb 27 at the Baqaria in Armant, shows the mother of a Buchis bull being worshipped by the Emperor Commodus, with the mummified cow on the left. The bull's date of death is recorded as ad 190.

Figure 64. *Coffin clamps from Armant.*

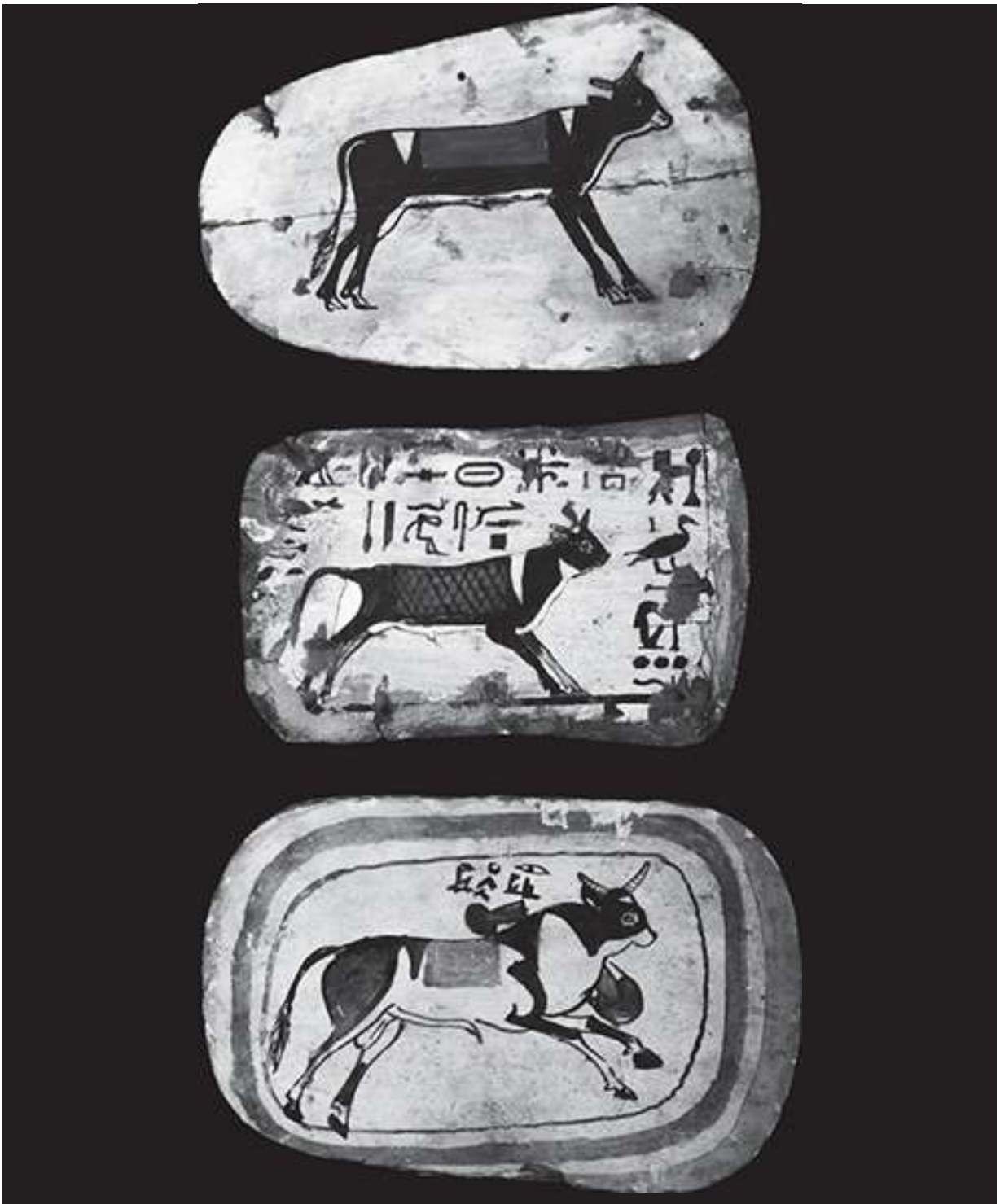


Figure 65. *Selected coffin footboards showing the Apis bull.*

The Buchis bull was the incarnation of the gods Montu and Re and the centre of the Buchis cult was at Armant. The bull was so important that even its mother was celebrated and buried in a group of tombs at Armant known as the Baqaria. The Egypt Centre holds a stela which was set up to the mother of the Buchis bull, as well as several coffin clamps found its tomb.

The Apis was the *ba* of the god Ptah and, in later periods, of Osiris. As with the Buchis bull, the Apis was selected from other bulls by its markings and when alive was treated as a deity. When it died, like the Buchis it was mummified and a new Apis sought. There could only be one Apis at any one time. After its death, the bull was identified with Osiris.[83]

ANIMAL VOTIVES

The Egypt Centre holds several animal mummies. All over Egypt, and particularly in the Graeco-Roman Period, animal mummies were dedicated to gods.[84] At Tuna el-Gebel alone, millions of ibises were mummified by priests and sold to the pious. It is usually stated that the mummies would then be donated to the god as a gift. X-rays have shown that while many mummies contain the remains of a complete animal, others, which might outwardly appear to be animal mummies, actually contain little or no animal remains. In the past scholars interpreted these empty mummies as trickery, but is there more to these than simply a gift to a god; was the lack of actual animal in the mummy important?

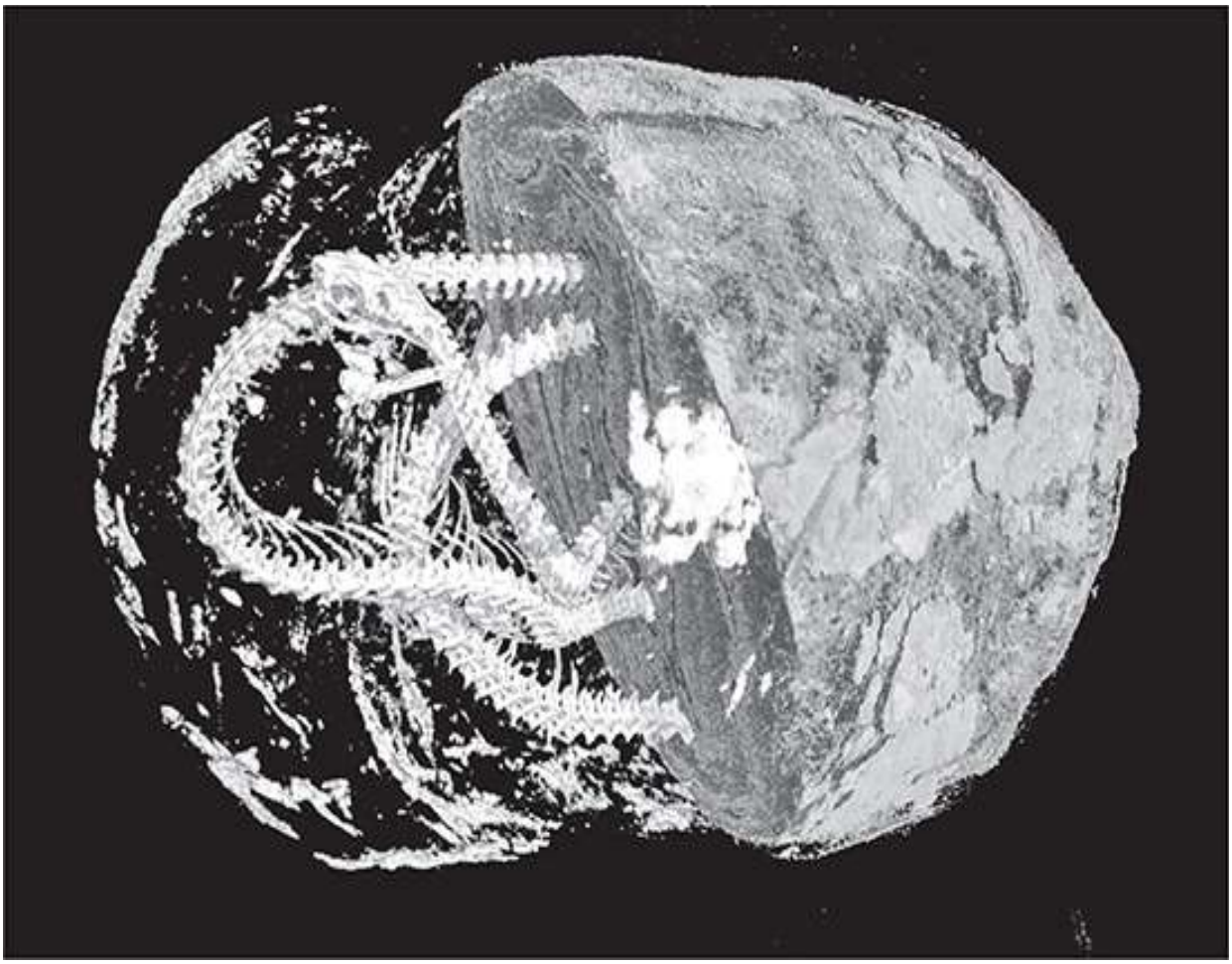


Figure 66. *EC308. A mummified snake.*

The metaphor of a gift giving is misleading. The purpose of animal votives was to act as a means of communication with the gods. Textual evidence, including notes written to the gods which have been found with votives, state that animal mummies were *bas* of the gods.[85] It seems that these animal mummies were similar to the mummies of humans; that is, they were considered as a *tut*, or image, something akin to a divine statue in which the god dwelt. Following from this, the practise of producing animal mummies without the actual mummy inside was not so theologically unsound as is sometimes popularly believed. The exterior of the 'false mummy' could still serve as a *tut*.

A British Museum papyrus suggests that animal mummies, other than the Apis, were meant to function in the afterlife.[86] The papyrus addresses the Osiris-Baboon and the Osiris-Ibis. Interestingly, the papyrus is associated

with the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony which was carried out on these animals. There is also archaeological evidence in the baboon and ibis galleries at Tuna el-Gebel for the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony in the form of vessels which may have held sacred oils.[87]

There may even be evidence of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony in the form of balls of natron placed within the mouths of mummified snakes. Objects measuring 3–4 mm across have been found within the mouth of a mummified snake.[88] When found, these were regarded as an artefact of the mummification process and the imaging method used did not have sufficient resolution to determine what these may be or their precise location. The Egypt Centre also holds a snake mummy (EC308) which has more recently undergone micro-CT scanning by Richard Johnston of Swansea University's Engineering Department. This too was found to have small artefacts within the mouth. The composition of these is consistent with natron.[89]

There is of course a strong argument for the ancients seeing the divine in everything. There are lists of decans associated with particular gods with trees and with minerals. However, we do not have evidence for worship of these entities.[90]

EIGHT
CONCLUSIONS

THERE REMAIN ISSUES of definition and bias in evidence, of continuity between daemon and not daemon. At different times and in different contexts daemons are particularly evident; there are, for example, numerous examples in the Graeco-Roman Period. This volume also acts as a warning against equating outward form with specific deities. One particular issue, which appears throughout, is the tendency among modern scholars to identify daemons by physical strangeness. At times the everyday also had special properties. This could be related to implicit and explicit religion, with the everyday equating to the implicit.

ISSUES OF BIASED EVIDENCE AND INTERPRETATION

The introductory chapter briefly explored theoretical problems of bias, including textual vs non-textual evidence. Text can provide evidence that would not otherwise come to light. The name of the daemon She who Embraces is known only from text. Sometimes text leads debate. We know about 'women's beds' from text and might therefore wonder whether the bed legs in the Egypt Centre adorned with Bes and a hippopotamus daemon were characteristic of such beds. While any connection might be fortuitous, text at least offers an alternative to the usual funerary explanation. It provides another analogy against which to check archaeological evidence. Then there is the issue surrounding the fact that most daemons of which we are aware relate to the elite. While the presence of daemonic iconography on low and high status sites suggests at least some crossover, we do not know if different social classes ascribed different meanings to artefacts. The lives of the elite and of craftsmen are still poorly understood despite close

study, while the lives of the lowest rungs of society have received much less attention.[1] Geographical bias caused by the fact that some areas are more prone to artefact destruction than others is difficult to assess. We do not know how many daemons present on Third Intermediate Period Theban coffins also existed elsewhere in Egypt.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHANGES

The daemons discussed here develop at different times, sometimes with known precedents, sometimes not. Several daemons on Twenty-first Dynasty coffins and papyri appear almost without known precursors (for example the She Who Embraces figure), while others such as Ammut have possible antecedents. Of course, it may be that outwardly similar daemons had different functions.

Part of the problem in recognising religion lies in the difficulty in recognising divinity. Deities can appear as 'everyday' animals or humans. Anna Stevens's exploration of domestic religion at the site of Amarna brings this problem to the fore. A faience crocodile, for example, may have associations with gods.[2] The New Kingdom seems to perceive daemons both as strange beings and as 'normal' animals and humans.

From the Late Period onwards, the distinction between gods and daemons becomes in some cases increasingly blurred, while in others there is increasing emphasis on categorising individuals possessing special powers as greater gods.[3] Deities previously without cult centres gained them and entities previously considered as only occasionally daemonic were explicitly deified. For example, in the Graeco-Roman Period the Bes-type deity attained cult centres at Bawiti in the Bahariya Oasis and at Saqqara, and other temples and chapels were dedicated to him.[4] Additionally, by the Graeco-Roman Period daemons who had been considered malevolent were worshipped, perhaps to appease them, and there is a growing use of funerary daemons in the temple realm. However, it is noticeable that these are daemons of doorways and, as such, both protect and repel. Perhaps related to this is the fact that the Graeco-Roman Period apparently saw a huge rise in the numbers of daemons, as the Greeks and Romans sought to

assimilate the deities of the Empire. For all these reasons, the period has been considered one of 'demonisation'.[5]

The huge numbers of terracottas of 'grotesques' and also of Bes, frogs and other daemons and gods in the homes of Graeco-Roman Egyptians has often been said to be proof of the importance of domestic religion in this period.[6] In this volume these include the Agathodaimon of home and the fields and daemons associated with braziers. Daemons are called upon to help the living in spells and incantations concerned with everyday life.[7] Of course, it could be argued that they are simply not recognised in earlier periods. For example, artefacts often dismissed as toys may also have had a religious significance. Depictions of 'everyday life' in earlier periods may actually be depictions of daemons.

Several suggestions as to why the daemonic was more evident in the Graeco-Roman Period have been made. It is possible, though perhaps difficult to prove, that by the Graeco-Roman Period religion was more explicit, more actively and discursively explained and dogmatised, and thus more visible. While previously daemons may have been incorporated implicitly into daily life, by the Graeco-Roman Period they were seen as separate from everyday life and their worship may therefore have become increasingly emphasised.

This increase in explicit religion is usually said to evolve from the New Kingdom, though one could see it as starting earlier.[8] In earlier periods, 'implicit' theology meant that ideas and symbols/metaphors were embedded in culture, so that they could appear as contradictory and incoherent. This contrasts with later 'explicit' theology, reflecting distance from religious activity and a move to narrative prose which appears more logical.[9] Narrative is congruent with a desire to explain things in 'logical terms'.

Reasons put forward for explicit 'sacralisation' are varied. It could be seen in terms of mutation,[10] or it could be due to outside influence. It has been suggested that Greek thought, unlike ancient Egyptian thought, was discursively constructed; it was dogmatic, explicit and therefore coherent.[11] Additionally, increased literacy could have affected the way in which religion was expressed, because the actual act of writing facilitates a clear expression of ideas.[12] One can also argue that as any topic develops it naturally becomes more explicit, through being thought and rethought. The

change to narrative may be a result of implicit religion becoming unacceptable. Myths are only myths if they cease to be credible.

CONTINUUM AND DIFFERENCE

Continuum of being is an underlining theme in this volume. At different times deities could be categorised as either daemons or gods, or statues, animals and humans. The syncretisation of deities means that lesser and greater gods and even humans and gods could be combined. The Agathodaimon (this volume, pp. 56–7) combined the greater god Osiris with the quasi-daemons Apis and Shai. Perhaps the Egyptians were less interested than we are in classifying the uniqueness of different beings.

Given the way in which the ancient Egyptians graphically symbolised their world, one would expect deities with similar outward appearance to have similar roles. Generally, this appears to be the case, but specifically there were differences. The hippopotamus daemons were connected with watery rebirth, though at times specific deities might be associated with kingship. Again, the general similarities may point to less of a need to identify individuals.

THE WEIRD, STRANGE AND UNUSUAL

I started this volume with an urge to understand the weird and wonderful, the daemons and spirits of the dead. It soon became clear that not all daemons were weird in appearance or habits. Could the weirdness of selected daemons explain anything about ancient attitudes towards difference?[13] Did the association between the daemonic and the strange indicate that the categories in question were considered lesser/disadvantaged, or liminal (simply different), or was there another cause? Strangeness could have been used to terrify malignant forces or perhaps to confuse them. That malignant daemons are also shown as strange suggests that their function was more than apotropaic. Additionally, the fact that few of the greater gods were depicted as weird may show that strangeness was intended to mark daemons as lesser beings.

The strangeness of daemons may be shown by their fantastical nature, as with the serpopard, or their unusual appearance, as with dwarves.[14] Strangeness may reflect *Duat* origins. There are a great many strange-looking daemons depicted and named in the *Duat* from the New Kingdom onwards. However, strange daemons such as Bes were not confined to the *Duat*.

From the New Kingdom several daemons had foreign names or spoke a foreign language, and were even listed with foreigners in spells.[15] The bound prisoner motif might represent a foreigner or a dangerous daemon. As non-acculturated foreigners were often considered lesser beings, particularly from the New Kingdom onwards, the foreign nature of daemons may have marked their lesser status.[16]

Dwarves in particular were associated with other exotic groups, such as people with hunchbacks or from Nubia or Punt. However, while in many societies disability links in with ideas of strangeness and 'the other', and can mean lesser, dwarfism might not have been considered a disadvantage.[17] It does not necessarily affect ability to carry out many tasks. Dwarves were often high status and considered to have special traits. However, literary evidence shows dwarves did receive negative treatment. The New Kingdom scribe Amenemope thought it necessary to urge against jeering at dwarves, suggesting that sometimes they were considered inferior.[18] Whether or not traits such as dwarfism were thought to be positive or negative depended upon the social status of the individuals exhibiting the traits.[19] So, dwarfism might not hinder a wealthy person, whereas it may have been more of a problem for manual labourers, with one considered positive and the other negative. Even the individual personalities of dwarves could result in dwarfism being seen in a negative or positive light and of course dwarves may have been understood differently by different elements of society. Other disabilities too were not always considered negative. Those with club feet and other deformities seem not to have been socially diminished.[20]

Clearly malevolent daemons were connected with the disadvantaged. Bad demons are usually the twisted ones with head turned back: 'he (the demon) will not go forth face forwards, limbs as sound limbs.'[21] 'I will turn your face into the back of your head, the front of your feet into your heels.'[22]

So it seems that while there was no simple correlation between foreign origin, lesser status and disability, all other things being equal, difference was considered inferior to the norm, and disadvantage correlated with malevolence. Or, in ancient Egyptian terms, chaos was less desirable than order. Daemons were conceivably shown as different because they tended toward chaos. Greater gods were usually shown as more 'normative' (p. 6).

But what of the 'everyday' daemons? Are amulets of crocodiles, ring bezels showing gazelles or fish amulets purely decorative animal motifs, or do they represent daemons? And what of daemons personified as everyday objects, such as Meskhenet, the birth-brick? This issue of 'normal' vs 'explicit' daemons might be related to the difference between explicit and implicit religion. There is lack of overt (explicit) magic-religious symbols in Old Kingdom tomb scenes. Several Egyptologists have seen a chronological change from gods, usually greater gods, represented as objects, animals, humans and then later as hybrids, though as has been pointed out this change does not occur at the same time in all contexts and places.[23] While 'godless' scenes perhaps represented a world where magic/religion was unnecessary, we know magic/religion was employed. It is evidenced by votive deposits, amulets, etc. Perhaps in Old Kingdom tomb scenes magic/religion is shown but because it is implicit we do not recognise it.

For later domestic sites, such as New Kingdom Amarna, there is much evidence for amulets shaped as 'everyday' animals. Ritual and domestic symbolism has been seen as different in character.[24] While both share similar symbols, ritual is a conscious social act of manipulating symbols to make a religious statement, a statement involving the transcendental; whereas in the domestic sphere the use of symbols may be implicit or explicit, it is not consciously used to manipulate the transcendental. Perhaps, in later times, implicit daemons were more often found in the domestic sphere and the explicit ones in temples and tombs. This is an area which needs further study.

So, one might posit several reasons for the strangeness of some daemons, but I would suggest that one plausible suggestion is that at times difference was considered chaotic and against *ma'at*, closely associated with malevolence. It also seems plausible to suggest that the strangeness of

daemons might be a result of their explicit adoption into the world of religion, as opposed to the implicit 'everyday'.

Throughout this volume we have explored a world very different from our own, trying to make sense of concepts with no exact parallels in the modern western world. Of course we are hampered by our own language and social constructs. One might say that we can only partially understand the world of daemons and spirits of the dead, that they must remain liminal in so far as our understanding goes. But this is perhaps one of the attractions of studying the past. Its foreignness is intriguing, it offers alternative insights into human imagination and endeavour, showing that although there is commonality in humankind, there is also tremendous diversity.

> To study history means submitting to chaos and nevertheless retaining faith in order and meaning. It is a very serious task, young man, and possibly a tragic one.
>
> Hermann Hesse, *The Glass Bead Game*

NOTES

Preface

1 One of the best introductions to daemons is Panagiotis Kousoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries between Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic* (Leuven, 2011). Leitz's multi-volume Lexikon is however essential for any study of individual daemons: Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (Leuven, 2002).

2 Indeed, the 2016 Swansea conference organised by the Egypt Centre and the Department of Classics, Ancient History and Egyptology was entitled *Demon Things: Ancient Egyptian Manifestations of Liminal Entities.* While the word *Duat* is often translated as 'Underworld', a more accurate description might be 'Otherworld', pp. 14–17.

3 An outline of the setting up of the collection can be found in C. Graves-Brown, 'The Birth of the Egypt Centre', *Discussions in Egyptology*, 59 (2004), 23–30.

4 I refer to Cleopatra VII.

5 For example, there is even a travel firm called 'Timeless Egypt Tours'.

1. Introduction: Problems

1 Books on site formation include Michael Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record* (Albuquerque, 1987) and Ian Hodder, *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction* (London, 1999).

2 With exceptions, text is often examined without regard to context; see B. Kemp, 'In the Shadow of Texts: Archaeology in Egypt', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 3/2 (1984), 19–28; Richard Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt. A Dark Side to Perfection* (London and New York, 2002), p.7; Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush. Ethnic Identitities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London and New York, 2003), p. 168. Additionally, there is the erroneous belief that text directly mirrors the past: Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, pp. 7–8. Text is traditionally studied divorced from the physicality of the artefact in connection with which it appears. There are exceptions; see, for example, Kathryn E. Piquette, 'Writing, 'art' and society: A contextual archaeology of the inscribed labels of late Predynastic-early Dynastic Egypt' (unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, London, 2007). For a more detailed explanation, see Massimiliano Pinarello, *An Archaeological Discussion of Writing Practice* (London, 2015).

3 C. Eyre, 'Belief and the dead in Pharaonic Egypt', in Mu-chou Poo (ed.), *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), p. 35.

4 The traditional view is that literacy was associated with the elite. Estimates for Dynastic Egyptian literacy rates usually vary from 10 per cent in unusual settlements, such as Deir el-Medina, downwards; see J. E. Richards, 'Modified order, responsive legitimacy, redistributed wealth: Egypt, 2260–1650 BC', in Janet Richards and Mary Van Buren (eds), *Order, Legitimacy and Wealth in Ancient States* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 43. Baines estimates that in most periods only 1 per cent of the population was literate; see J. Baines, 'Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society', *Man*, 18/3 (1983), 584. However, Pinarello makes a convincing argument that literacy was not as an important marker of the elite as is commonly believed, and was probably a skill enjoyed by a wider group than is usually acknowledged. Furthermore, people could be partially literate. His work centres on, but is not confined to, the Old Kingdom (Pinarello, *An Archaeological Discussion*). Additionally, text was partly built upon oral tradition (Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 55–7), with some texts made for performance (Richard Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems*, 1940–1640 BC (Oxford, 1997), p. 11.

5 Even if the literate elite were a defined group, one would expect a degree of interplay between their religion and that of the non-elite, but how this played out is not clear. Kingship centres may have absorbed local myths and practices or have influenced local religion, or, possibly, the two were entangled. Studies of the relationship between individual and official religions in ancient societies increasingly show a complex relationship and the difficulty of distinguishing between the two. For discussions of the relationship between elite and 'folk' religion, see Charles Keith Maisels, *Early Civilizations of the Old World: The Formative Histories of Egypt, the Levant, Mesopotamia, India and China* (London and New York, 1999), pp. 354–9; Bruce Trigger, *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 542–3; M. Luiselli, 'Personal Piety (Modern Theories Related to)', in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2008), http://escholarship.org/uc/item/49q0397q; Eyre, 'Belief in the Dead', pp. 35–6; Stephen Quirke, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2015), pp. 25–6.

6 For example, pharaonic flint artefacts. While in the early twentieth century the study of dynastic lithics was recognised, it soon became a Cinderella discipline.

7 Pinarello, *An Archaeological Discussion*, pp. 25–2, with further references.

8 A. Stevenson, 'Artefacts of excavation. The British Collection and Distribution of Egyptian Fnds to Museums, 1880–1915', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 26/1 (2014), 89–102.

9 Most senior and therefore influential museum curators, academics and collectors are male and from the elite. Literature on this includes Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: a Cultural Study* (Leicester, 1992) and Susan Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London and New York, 1994).

10 For colour see: W. Vivian Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001)

11 For influences on display of Egyptology in the British Museum, including changes concerning aesthetics, see Stephanie Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities. Ancient Egypt at the British Museum* (Chicago, 2006). Having visited several Egyptological collections it seems to be generally the case that art museums display items with regard to modern western aesthetics and rarely show them amongst reproductions and replicas. There is minimal interpretation. Science museums display items in settings including replicas and reproductions in a way intended to be accessible and entertaining.

12 Ian Hodder, *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture* (Cambridge and New York, 1982), p. 11 and *The Present Past* (London, 1982), which contrasts the limitations of traditional archaeologists, such as Piggott, with the work of Shanks and Tilley and

Shennan. More particularly, he cites Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, 'Ideology, symbolic power and ritual communication: a reinterpretation of Neolithic mortuary practices', in Ian Hodder (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 129–54 and S. Shennan, 'Ideology, change and the European Early Bronze Age', in Ian Hodder (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 155–61. The former traditional archaeologists were unable to reconstruct ancient ritual to any extent while the latter were able to succeed, at least in part, by making use of ethnographic analogy.

13 For debate on the dangers and merits of analogy, see P. Ucko, 'Ethnography and Archaeological Interpretation of Funerary Remains', *World Archaeology*, 1 (1969), 262–80; I. Hodder, 'Theoretical archaeology: a reactionary view', in Ian Hodder (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, pp. 1–16; Alexander Gramsch (ed.), V*ergleichen als Archäologische Methode: Analogien un der Archäologien. Mit Beitragen einer Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Theorie (T-AG) und einer Kommentieren Bibliographie* (Oxford, 2000); U. Veit, 'Von Mykene bis Madagaskar: Europäische Megalithik und Ethnographische Vergleiche', *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschriften*, 35 (1994), 353–81.

14 For a brief introduction with extensive references, see O. El-Daly, 'Ancient Egypt in medieval Arabic writings', in P. Ucko and T. Champion (eds), *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions through the Ages* (London and New York, 2003), p. 62; Stephen Quirke, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2015), pp. 4–5.

15 Middle range theory and experimental archaeology can be used to produce and test the fitness of analogies; see C. Graves-Brown, 'Beyond the technological: a novice knapper's experience', in C. Graves-Brown (ed.), *Egyptology in the Present: Experiential and Experimental Methods in Archaeology* (Swansea, 2015), pp. 39–51, with references. Furthermore, the temporal and spatial positions of artefacts exclude some interpretations and support others; see Pearce, *Interpreting Objects*, p. 130.

16 Alan Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London, 1947). The work is known from several documents dating from the Ramesside Period to the late Third Intermediate Period (c.1100–700 BC). See also C. Nims, 'Egyptian Catalogues of Things', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 9/4 (1950), 253–62.

17 For more detail on the different types, see R. Lucarelli, 'Demons in the *Book of the Dead*', in B. Backes, I. Munro and S. Stöhr, (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beitrage Des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. Bis 29. September 2005* (Studien Zum Altaegyptischen Totenbuch) Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 203–12; R. Lucarelli, 'The Guardian-demons of the Book of the Dead', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 15* (2010), 85–102. Available online at https://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Lucarelli.pdf; Lucarelli, R., 'Demonology during the Late Pharaonic and Greco-Roman Periods in Egypt', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 11 (2011), 109–25; R. Lucarelli 'Demons (benevolent and malevolent)', in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2010), http://escholarship.org/uc/item/1r72q9vv; and K. Szpakowska, 'Demons in Ancient Egypt', Religion Compass, 3/5 (2009), pp. 799–805.

18 Szpakowska, 'Demons in Ancient Egypt', p. 799, suggests onomastica only contained positive entities. The *Onomastica of Amenemipet* states in its title that it is 'consisting of all that is useful' (Alan Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, p. 2) and thus logically would not include daemons and *mwt* spirits of the dead. However, one might argue that not all daemons were bad (see below). Additionally, see A. Leahy, 'Htiw-Demons in Late Period Onomastica', *Göttinger Miszellen*, 87 (1985), 49¬51, where *xAty* (later *xty*) demons, i.e. slaughter demons associated with disease and Sekhmet, are discussed; Lucarelli, 'Demons in the *Book of the Dead*', p. 204, also mentions daemons in the Late Period and later onomastica.

19 The European Western World is also concerned with Cartesian duality of mind: body; subject: object, etc. These were not ancient structuring relations; see Lynn Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life* (Oxford, 1999) and *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt. Material Biographies Past and Present* (Oxford and New York, 2004),

20 Alan Lloyd, 'Egyptian Magic in Greek literature', in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries Between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Leuven, 2011), pp. 103–4 (with references), discusses this briefly in comparing the mutable beings of the ancient Egyptians with the bounded beings of the classical Greeks.

21 Quirke, *Exploring Religion*, pp. 33–4, briefly discusses syncretism. See also J. Baines, 'Egyptian Syncretism: Hans Bonnet's Contribution', *Orientalia* 68.3 (1999), pp. 199–214; and Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. John Baines (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 91–9. For the Egyptians, syncretism meant that combined deities still retained their individuality.

22 Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, pp. 37, 42, and others, have suggested *netjer* may have originally referred to the dead. The word appears equivalent, at least in the Ptolemaic and later periods, to the Greek *theos*; Françoise Dunand and Christiane Zivie-Coche, *Gods and Men in Egypt 2000 BCE–395 CE* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London, 2004), p. 8. On the difficulty of identifying gods, Assmann, for example, identifies the divine as having a cult, being involved in some aspect of the universe, having a topographical association and being described in mythology or other forms of written tradition; see Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2001), pp. 7–8, 83. But while certain 'daemons' have their names written by the divine classifier, indicating that they were *netjer*, they do not all have a cult or topographical association (divine classifiers are discussed in more detail below). According to a different definition by Meeks, the term *netjer* was applied to any being who was the focus of ritual; see Dimitri Meeks, 'Notion de dieu et structure du pantheon dans l'Égypte ancienne', in *Revue d'histoire des religions*, 204 (1988), 425–46. By this definition, deceased individuals who were the focus of funerary rituals were described as gods, while others we would categorise as daemons were probably not 'gods'. To complicate matters, animal mummies were referred to as *netjer*; see also this volume pp. 147–8. The term *netjer* may simply have referred to any being outside normal everyday life; see John Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Oxford, 2001), p. 216. I have much sympathy with this definition and believe 'divinity' may be a looser and more accurate way to translate *netjer*.

23 Kings were often given the epithet *netjer-nefer* (nTr-nfr, loosely translated as 'good/perfect god'). For a discussion on this, see O. Berlev, 'Two kings – two suns: on the worldview of the ancient Egyptians', in S. Quirke (ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva. The Egyptological Legacy of O. D. Berlev* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 19–35. For the dead see Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, pp. 58–9. As well as simply calling themselves *netjer*, the deceased would identify with particular gods.

24 James Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912), p. 157; Veronique Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (New York: OUP, 1993), p. 90.

25 P. Kousoulis, 'The Demonic Lore of Ancient Egypt: Questions on Definition', in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries between Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic* (Leuven, 2011), pp. x–x1.

26 R. Lucarelli, 'Demonology during the Late Pharaonic and Greco-Roman Periods in Egypt', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, 11 (2011), 109–25, with references. This is

perhaps not such a great problem for those who, like me, were not brought up understanding the Greek idea of daimōns; I have no preconceptions regarding the term.

27 For Greek ideas on souls of the dead and daimōns, see Kousoulis, 'The Demonic Lore of Ancient Egypt', pp. x–xi; For those who include the dead as daemons see, for example, C. Leitz, 'Deities and demons: Egypt', in S. I. Johnston (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World: a Guide* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 2004), p. 395. For those who do not include the dead in this category see, for example, Lucarelli, 'Demons (benevolent and malevolent)' p. 2.

28 Leitz includes personifications as daemons, see Leitz, 'Deities and Demons'. Personifications vary from purely rhetorical devises to entities with their own independent powers, with stages between; see Alan Gardiner, 'Personification (Egyptian)', in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 9 (Edinburgh, 1917), p. 789; Joseph Dodson, *The 'Powers' of Personification: Rhetorical Purpose in the Book of Wisdom and the Letter to the Romans* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fur die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft) (New York, 2008), pp. 30–1.

29 Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, pp. 105–7; Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Ithaca, 1973), pp. 19–20. The ancient Egyptians made heavy use of symbolism to explain the otherwise unexplainable, and it seems likely that gods (and daemons) were also used for this purpose. See Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, pp. 105–7, 259; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, pp. 19–20; Dana Reemes, 'The Egyptian ouroboros: an iconological and theological study' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2015), p. 63. One could argue that we all think metaphorically but, because we are immersed in our own metaphoric world, we do not recognise it as metaphorical. For metaphoric thought as fundamental to all societies, see George Lakoff, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (Chicago, 1987); George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980); George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in The Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge To Western Thought* (New York, 1999).

It has even been suggested that the ancient Egyptians were unable to think in the abstract but instead used mythopoeic thought. For mythopoeic thought, see Henri Frankfort, W. A. Irwin, T. Jacobsen, J. A. Wilson and H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 3–27; Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods. A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago, 1948 (1978), pp. 73, 362, n. 4. One characteristic of Frankfort's concept of 'mythopoeic' thought involved the tendency to think in concrete terms. Frankfort's idea of the mythopoeic differs from modern ideas of metaphoric thought in its emphasis on attributing cause to deities; see Robert Segal, *Myth: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 40–1. Frankfort has also been criticised largely for claiming different thought processes for different societies; see R. Anthes, 'Affinity and Difference Between Egyptian and Greek Sculpture and Thought in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries BC', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107 (1963), 60–81; Rudolf Anthes, 'Mythologie und der Gesunde Menschenverstand in Ägypten', *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 96 (1965), pp. 5–40; Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p. 238; Herman te Velde, 'Frankfort and religious symbols', in H. G. Hubbeling and H. G. Kippenberg (eds), *On Symbolic Representation of Religion* (Berlin and New York, 1986), pp. 35–47. See also D. Wengrow, 'The Intellectual Adventure of Henri Frankfort: A Missing Chapter in the History of Archaeological Thought', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 103.4 (1999), 597–613. Erik Hornung, *Idea into Image*, trans. Elizabeth Bredeck, (New York, 1992), p. 14 comes close to equating Egyptian religious thought with metaphoric thought, seeing it as associational. However, he sees a qualitative difference between Egyptian thought patterns and our own.

30 Even the power of the greater gods was limited; they were not omnipresent or omnipotent, they had human foibles and could be threatened, cajoled and even killed. Kákosy argues that the

mortal nature of gods was more visible in the Graeco-Roman Period than earlier; see L. Kákosy, 'Temple and Funerary Beliefs in the Graeco-Roman Epoch', in *L'égyptologie en 1979, Axes prioritaires de recherches* (Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientific, No 595 (Paris, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 117–27. However, for the story of the 'Contendings of Horus and Seth', which is known from the mid-twelfth century BC, Richard Parkinson paints a picture of gods as human and quarrelsome; see *Voices from Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 120–1. For tainted gods with human traits, see also Dimitri Meeks and Christine Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods* (London, 1999). Some believe these 'faults' mean that daemons were flesh and blood; see Lucarelli, 'Demons in the *Book of the Dead*', p. 203, following Heerma van Voss, *Vijf dekaden – Demonen da capo* (Leiden, 1983). Eyre sees them as 'manifestations of the non-material' ('Belief in the Dead', p. 46).

31 See Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1997).

32 Ritner, *Mechanics*, pp. 21–2.

33 *Papyrus of Neferwebenef, Book of the Dead*, Louvre III, 93; Édouard Naville, *Das Ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie aus Verschiedenen Urkunden* (Berlin, 1886), vol. I, Spell 28; Suzanne Ratié, *Papyrus of Neferubenef BD*, Louvre III, 93 (Cairo, 1968), pp. 41–2, pl.13. A male Bes-type figure is shown holding the root of his tail and a knife while the deceased kneels before him holding a knife. The papyrus dates from the Eighteenth to the early Nineteenth Dynasty; Ratié, *Papyrus of Neferubenef*, pp. 10–11.

34 *bw wAh.i im.w r Drw r tm dgA.st r HHy wrw r nDsw m nTrw nTywt*; Cairo museum: JE 48831; Alexander Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty* (Jonsereed, 1994), pp. 160–1.

35 Though, as Dimitri Meeks points out, while a temple may show that the deity has theological and political importance, it does not reflect the god's popularity; see Dimitri Meeks, 'Demons', in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol I. (Oxford, 2000), p. 375.

36 A. Roccatii, 'Demons as Reflection of Human Society', in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries Between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta Leuven, 2011), pp. 89–96.

37 Roccati, 'Demons as Reflection of Human Society', p. 95.

2. Dwellings of the Dead and Daemons

1 Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1997), p. 17; C. Leitz, 'Deities and Demons: Egypt', in S. I. Johnston (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World: a Guide* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England, 2004), p. 395. Some Otherworld daemons also inhabited domestic settings; see C. Manassa, 'Divine Taxonomy in the Underworld Books', in S. Bickel, D. Frankfurter, S. I. Johnston, J. Mylonopoulos, J. Rüpke, J. Scheid, and Z. Várhelyi, *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, 14 (2013), 47–68. Many daemons were also without locales, for example those associated with particular days. Others personified objects, for example the personification of the birth-brick, Meskhenet.

2 *Pyramid Texts* describe the *Duat* as giving birth to the gods and the king; see J. Allen, 'The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts', in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), n. 148.

3 Papyrus Leiden I, 350, Chapter 200; quoted in Christiane Zivie-Coche, 'Book I. Pharaonic Egypt', in F. Dunand and C. Zivie-Coche (eds), *Gods and Men in Egypt 3000 BCE to 395 CE*,

trans. D. Lorton, (Ithaca and London, 2002), p. 23.

4 As suggested in Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. John Baines (Ithaca, 1982), p. 229. For the Fields of the *Duat*, see J. H. Taylor (ed.), *Journey Through the Afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 2010); see also Jacobus van Dijk, 'Paradise', in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2001), pp. 25–7.

5 J. Conman, 'It's About Time: Ancient Egyptian Cosmology', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 31 (2009), p. 61.

6 The name *Book of the Dead* was invented in 1842 by Karl Lepsius.

7 Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1997), p. 185, fig. 218.

8 Another good description of the Field of Reeds is in the Papyrus of Ani (British Museum EA10470); Edna Russmann, *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (London, 2001), pp. 199–200; Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton, (Ithaca, 2005), p. 392; and Taylor (ed.), *Journey Through the Afterlife*, pp. 254–9.

9 Translation according to Thomas Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day. Ideas of the ancient Egyptians concerning the hereafter as expressed in their own terms* (Chicago, 1974), p. 87.

10 Papyrus Leiden, 1350; James Allen, *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* (New Haven, 1988), p. 53.

11 John Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in The Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX* (Orbis Biblicus Et Orientalis) (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 376–9.

12 J. Allen, 'The Egyptian concept of the world', in D. O'Connor and S. Quirke (eds), *Mysterious Lands* (London, 2003), p. 24.

13 *Pyramid Text* 749 c-e; J. Allen, 'Cosmology', p. 6.

14 J. Allen, 'Cosmology'.

15 For the Imperishables as the circumpolar stars, see J. Allen, 'Cosmology', p. 4. For stars which do not die, see Conman, 'It's About Time', p. 37.

16 Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 280, 442.

17 Although the Osireion is often referred to as a 'cenotaph', it was a temple.

18 Henri Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), I, p. 73. For more on Nut, see pp. 121–3.

19 Conman, 'It's About Time', p. 64.

20 Christina Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 2014).

21 Ronald Leprohon, 'Ritual Drama in Ancient Egypt', in E. Csapo and M. C. Miller (eds), *The Origins of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama* (New York, 2007), pp. 259–92; Katherine Eaton, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual. Performance, Pattern and Practice* (New York and London, 2013).

22 Hornung, *Conceptions of God*; Allen, 'Cosmology'; J. Allen, 'The Egyptian concept of the world', p. 25; Raymond Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* (San Francisco, 1994), p. 143; Taylor (ed.), *Journey Through the Afterlife* p. 132.

23 M. Smith, 'Resurrection and the body in Graeco-Roman Egypt', in F. V. Reiterer, P. C. Beentjes, N. Calduch-Benages, and B. G. Wright (eds), *The Human Body in Death and Resurrection (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature: Yearbook 2009)* (Berlin and New York, 2012), p. 29.

24 For the *Coffin Texts*, see 191i; IV 114c; J. Allen, 'Cosmology', n. 156. For New Kingdom texts, see Darnell, Enigmatic Netherworld Books, pp. 379, 382.

25 Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 278, 280, 426–48.
26 Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 441–4, 450.
27 Papyrus Chester Beatty III r.9.14; Kasia Szpakowkska, *Behind Closed Eyes. Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, 2003), 11, note 1.
28 Lot 163 in the sale catalogue is said to be identical to lot 162. Lot 162 describes a 'representation of a Christian deacon' wearing an alb. See endnote 33.
29 M. Guasch-Jané, 'The Meaning of Wine in Egyptian Tombs: The Three Amphorae from Tutankhamun's Burial Chamber', *Antiquity*, 85 (2011), pp.851–8. For the significance of wine, see Mu-chou Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 1995).
30 Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion* (Oxford, 2005), p. 157. One of the most well-known Roman Period tombs with vine imagery is that of Petosiris in the Dakhla oasis; see H. Whitehouse, 'Roman in life, Egyptian in death: The painted tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhleh Oasis', in O. Kaper (ed.), *Life on the Fringe. Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts during the Roman and Early-Byzantine Periods* (Leiden, 1998), 253–70.
31 For jewellery, see Riggs, *Beautiful Burial* p. 241.
32 Terence DuQuesne, *Jackal at the Shaman's Gate: A Study of Anubis Lord of Ro-Setawe, with the Conjuration to Chthonic Deities* (PGM XXIII; pOxy 412) (Thame, 1991).
33 The woman's shroud was purchased by Henry Wellcome at the J. C. Stevens auction house on 10 October 1922 (Lot 311). The man's shroud was purchased by Henry Wellcome from the Hood Collection on 11 November 1924 (Lot 163). *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, etc., Formed by the Late Rev. W Frankland Hood during the Years 1851–1861*, Sotheby's (London) auction catalogue, 11 November 1924. Descriptions of both were published in C. Riggs, 'Roman Period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 86 (2000), 121–44. For more on the type, see Klaus Parlasca, 'Roman mummy masks', in K. N. Sowada and B. G. Ockinga (eds), *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum*, Sydney, (Sydney, 2006), pp. 191–6.
34 T. Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, pp. 150 and 193.
35 Dimitri Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods* (London, 1999), 82.
36 K. Szpakowka, *Behind Closed Eyes. Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, 2003), p. 21.
37 For the nether sky with place classifier, see *Pyramid Text* 149a–d; Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, p. 85. For the *Duat* see WB V, 415–16, as is shown on Egypt Centre's W1050 described in this volume on p. 87.
38 *Pyramid Text* 610, discussed in J. Allen, 'Cosmology', p. 21.
39 Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Volume 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms (Los Angeles, 1975), pp. 194–7.
40 Papyrus Lille 139. Barbara Egedi, 'Meriré a túlvilágon. A Vandier papirusz. [Merire in the Afterlife – The Papyrus Vandier]', *Ókor* 8/3–4 (2009), 16–23.
41 Kasia Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes*. pp. 19–22.
42 Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 117–18.
43 In order to create a divine statue, the *sem*-priest had to imagine, or see the image in his mind. See Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein: Studien zum altägyptischen Mundöffnungsritual* (Heidelberg, 1998); Riggs, *Unwrapping*, p. 215. Finally, gods created with their eyes; see Rune Nyord, *Breathing Flesh. Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen, 2009), pp. 179–80.
44 J. Borghouts, 'The Evil Eye of Apophis', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 59 (1973), 114–50.

45 K. Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes*, pp. 26.
46 L. Manniche, 'Symbolic Blindness', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 53 (1978), 13–21.
47 For front-facing musicians, see the tomb-chapel of Nebamun, TT181 and the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb. A more secular suggestion is that the apparent frontal nature of the musicians was due to the way performance in a circle was depicted. Frontality is discussed in Youri Volokhine, *La frontalité dans l'iconographie de l'Égypte ancienne* (Geneva, 2000).
48 J. Allen, 'Cosmology', pp. 17–21.
49 J. Allen, 'Cosmology', pp. 20–1.
50 The idea of leaving the tomb became more prevalent from the New Kingdom onwards; see M. Smith, 'Resurrection and the Body', p. 29.
51 Peter Piccione, *Gaming with the Gods: The Game of Senet and Ancient Egyptian Religious Beliefs* (Leiden, 2001). Other games of chance may also have been used to communicate with the dead; see Stephen Quirke, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2015), p. 200.
52 K. Cooney, 'The functional materialism of death in ancient Egypt: A case study of funerary materials in the Ramesside Period', in M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Das Heilige und die Ware*, IBAES VII (London, 2008) p. 276.
53 Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 422–3, n. 232; Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, pp. 192–208.

In the New Kingdom false doors in temples were often associated with the chapel of the 'hearing ear', the ear being a means of communication with the dead. See also pp. 97–9 for ways of communicating with the dead.

54 There is also evidence that gods emerged from the rocks. Alain Zivie recently unearthed a Hathor cow statue emerging from the living rock at Nineteenth Dynasty Saqqara. Simulacra suggest emergent gods at Thebes. For the Valley of the Queens, see Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, *Lorsque la Nature parlait aux Égyptiens* (Paris, 2003), pp. 56–9. Donohue has drawn attention to the cobra simulacra above Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri; see A. Donohue, 'The Goddess of the Theban Mountain', *Antiquity* 66 (1992), 871–85. See also C. Graves-Brown, 'Emergent Flints', in K. Szpakowska (ed.), *Through a Glass Darkly. Magic, Dreams and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, 2006), pp. 47–62.

3. Early Daemons and a Magic Wand

1 Hartwig Altenmüller, 'Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens: eine typologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der sogenannten 'Zaubermesser' des Mittleren Reichs' (unpublished PhD thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1965); A. Gnirs, 'Nilpferdstoßzähn und Schlangenstäbe. Zu den magischen Geräten des sogenannten Ramessidenfundes', in D. Kessler, R. Schulz, M. Ullmann, A, Verbovsek and S. Wimmer (eds), *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente. Festschrift für Günter Burkard* (Wiesbaden, 2009), pp. 128–55; Stephen Quirke, *Birth Tusks: The Armoury of Health in Context – Egypt 1800 BC* (London, 2016).
2 H. Altenmüller, 'Ein Zaubermesser aus Tübingen', *Die Welt des Orient* 14 (1983), pp. 14, 30–45; Altenmüller, 'Ein Zaubermesser', p. 67; Wendy Goodridge and S. Williams, *Offerings from the British Museum* (Swansea, 2006), p. 17; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 4, 245–6, 248, 308–9, 311, 374–5, 388, 393, 408, fig. 3.14.
3 Kessler et al. (eds), *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente*, p. 110; J. Roberson, 'The Early History of 'New Kingdom' Netherworld iconography: A late Middle Kingdom apotropaic wand reconsidered', in D. P. Silverman, W. K. Simpson and J. Wegner (eds), *Archaism and*

Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt (New Haven and Philadelphia, 2009), n. 66. See also Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 434–5. Quirke discusses other possible depictions of tusks, with that in the tomb of Rekhmire seeming to him the most convincing. Loeben discusses a possible New Kingdom siltstone wand; see C. Loeben, 'Ein "Riesen-Luxus-Zaubermesser" – vielleicht von Königin Hatschepsut? – sowei zwei weitere mit ägyptischer Magie assoziierte Objekte im Kestner-Museum Hannover', in L. Gabolde (ed.), *Hommages à Jean-Claude Goyon offerts pour son 70e anniversaire* (Paris, 2008) pp. 275–84.

4 Accession number 9611; K. Yamamoto, 'Comprehending life. Community, environment and the supernatural', in A. Oppenheim, Dorothea Arnold, Dieter Arnold and K. Yamamoto (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed. The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015), pp. 200–1; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 4, 236, 242, 305, 307, 350, 383, 408, fig. 3.1.

5 Altenmüller, 'Die Apotropaia', p. 67. The example of labelling is Cairo 9436/JE18640.

6 Quack warns against assuming that the Egyptians would not have expected to see a griffin: J. Quack, 'The animals of the desert and the return of the goddess', in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb and N. Pöllath (eds), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance, and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne, December 14–15, 2007* (Cologne, 2009), p. 349.

7 For examples and reference, see John Darnell, *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1–45 and Wadi el-Hôl Inscriptions 1–45, Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert*, Vol. 1 (Chicago, 2002), p. 77, n. 315.

8 Which must have made breakage difficult. That many are broken may suggest a deliberate act. However, some have holes used for 'mending', suggesting accidental damage.

9 Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1994), p. 8.

10 A. Pírez, 'Hippo goddesses of the Egyptian pantheon', in H. A. el Gawad, N. Andrews, M. Correas-Amador, V. Tamorri and J. Taylor (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2011. Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Symposium which took place in Durham University, United Kingdom, March 2011* (Oxford, 2012), p., 211. The sign is the hieroglyph Gardiner sign V17. Most amuletic *sa*-signs date to the Middle Kingdom, see Andrews, *Amulets*, p. 43.

11 Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.8.218.

12 H. te Velde, 'Some egyptian deities and their piggishness', in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, Studia Aegyptiaca, 14, (Budapest, 1992), pp. 571–8; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 329–30.

13 Another hippo, not on a wand, has the male suffix (Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 329, 331). Breasts are pendulous like those of male deities such as Hapy and Bes. Additionally, these figures often sport the mane of a (usually) male lion. The hippopotamus in real life is not strongly sexually dimorphic.

14 J. A. Wegner, 'A decorated birth-brick from South Abydos. New evidence on childbirth and birth magic in Middle Kingdom Egypt', in D. P. Silverman, W. K. Simpson and J. A. Wegner (eds), *Archaism and Innovation. Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven, 2009), pp. 447–96. Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 594–602, discusses the emergence of 'birth artefacts' at this date. For more on the symbolism of birth-bricks, see this volume p. 100.

15 G. Steindorff, 'The Magical Knives of Ancient Egypt', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 9 (1946), p. 50. The inscriptions state that the deities are protectors see Altenmüller, 'Die Apotropaia', p. 67. Protection is multiplied on tusks through both written inscriptions and the deities depicted.

16 For examples of wear, see Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, p. 305.

17 Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 437–44, 573.

18 For example Louvre E3614, published in Oppenheim et al., *Ancient Egypt Transformed. The Middle Kingdom* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015), p. 200; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 5, 246, 250–1, 306–7, 309–11, 322–3, 387–9, 407–11, 429–30.

19 For the *Return of the Distant Goddess* in association with the wands, see Altenmüller, 'Die Apotropaia'; Dieter Kessler, 'Der satirisch-erotische Papyrus Turin 55001 und das "Verbringen des schönen Tages"', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 15 (1988), p. 187, n. 52. For the *Return of the Distant One*, see J. Darnell, 'Hathor Returns to Medamûd', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 22 (1995), 47–94.

20 For predecessors to the myth, see Richard Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC* (Oxford, 1997). For further evidence, both archaeological and textual, of Middle Kingdom origins of the myth, see Z. Horváth, 'Hathor and her Festivals at Lahun', in G. Miniaci and W. Grajetski (eds), *The World Of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550BC). Contributions on archaeology, art, religion and written sources*, Vol. 1 (London, 2015).

21 Richard Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (Norman, 1991), pp. 120–1.

22 For a translation, see Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume 2: The New Kingdom* (Los Angeles, 1976), pp. 197–8.

23 Quack, 'The animals of the desert'; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, p. 427.

24 While hippopotami are not generally known as peaceful, they are good mothers, a characteristic also attributed to gentle goddess Hathor. The hippopotamus is often shown wearing the horned headdress of Hathor, and Hathor is strongly associated with the marshes, as, of course were hippos. Hathor and the hippopotamus deity are sometimes shown together. For the link between Hathor and the hippopotamus deity, see Darnell, *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1–45*, pp. 77–8 and Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 292–5.

25 E. F. Morris, 'Paddle Dolls and Performance', *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt*, 47 (2011), 71–103. Morris sees these dolls as being associated with the khener dance troupes. Dance could was be associated with birth.

26 Pascal Vernus and J. Yoyotte, J., *Bestiaire des pharaons* (Paris, 2005), p. 631.

27 Ashmolean AN1896–1908E.3924.

28 The 'master of animals' motif is common in the Near East in the fourth millennium BC and consists of a human figure grasping two flanking animals.

29 D. Meeks, 'Fantastic animals', in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encylopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol I (Oxford, 2000), p. 504

30 Tomb 2: see Percy Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, (London, 1893), pl. XIII; Tomb 15: Percy Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, (London, 1893), pl. IV, where a snake-headed version occurs with a griffin and a Seth-animal and is labelled *Sedja* (transliterations DA); Tomb 17: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. XIII, where it occurs with a griffin and a Seth-animal and is again labelled *Sedja*. For examples with griffins, see W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Vol. 1, From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1990), p. 249, fig. 159; and Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 392–3.

31 Meeks, 'Fantastic animals', p. 505; P. Germond and J. Livet., *An Egyptian Bestiary. Animals in Life and Religion in the Land of the Pharaohs* (London, 2001, p. 193); M. Passanante, 'Two Ivory Carvings from Hierkonpolis', in M. Ross (ed.), From the Banks of the Euphrates: Studies in Honor of Alice Louise Slotsky (Winona Lake, 2008), pp. 177.

32 B. Judas, 'Keftiu and Griffins: An Exploration of the Liminal in the Egyptian World View', in M. Pinarello, J. Yoo, J. Lundock and C. Walsh (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2012.*

Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium, University Collecge London and King's College London, 2014 (Oxford and Philidelphia, 2015), p. 126.

33 For the serpopard with *sa*-sign, see Walters Art Gallery 71.510; Anne Capel and G. Markoe, (eds), Mistress of the House, *Mistress of Heaven. Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), p. 64.

34 Accession number: MMA 44.4.4; Yamamoto, 'Comprehending Life', p. 202.

35 David Wengrow, *The Origins of Monsters: Image and Cognition in the First Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Princeton, 2013).

36 For other examples, see Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 364–5.

37 J. Darnell, 'The Apotropaic Goddess in the Eye', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 24 (1997), 35. For information on eye amulets see Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 43

38 For example, Budapest MFA 2005, 1–E; Quirke, *Birth Tusks.*

39 Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, p. 480.

40 É. Liptay, 'From Middle Kingdom Apotropaia to Netherworld Books', in E. Bechtold, A. Gulyás, and A. Hasznos (eds), *From Illahun to Djeme. Papers Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft*, BAR International Series 2311 (Oxford, 2011), pp. 149–55; see also p. 150.

41 Colleen Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period, Ägypten und Altes Testament*, 72 (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 35.

42 J. Kremler, 'On interpreting the meaning of amulets and other objects using the frog motif as an example', in C. M. Knoblauch and J. C. Gill (eds), *Egyptology in Australia and New Zealand, 2009. Proceedings of the Conference held in Melbourne, September* 4th–6th, BAR International Series 2355 (Oxford, 2012), p 97.

43 Kremler, 'On interpreting the meaning of amulets'; Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 63, 97, 101 (with references).

44 Hm-nTr Hqt; M. Bárta, 'The Title 'Priest of Heqet' in the Egyptian Old Kingdom', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 58/2 (1999), 107–16; H. Altenmüller, 'Zu zwei Titeln des Alten Reichs, ein Vorschlag zu ihrer Interpreation. Die Titel des 'Priesters der Heqet' und des 'Gefolgsmanns des Ha', in M. Bárta, H. Küllmer (eds), *Diachronic Trends in Ancient Egyptian History* (Prague, 2013), pp.1–13.

45 Bárta, 'The Title 'Priest of Heqet' p. 111.

46 Altenmüller, 'Zu zwei Titeln des Alten Reichs'.

47 Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, p. 351.

48 Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 214–15, 573, for examples associated with kingship. They are certainly associated with the elite; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, p. 6, contra Altenmüller, 'Die Apotropaia'.

49 Kremler, 'On interpreting the meaning of amulets', p. 99.

50 For a wand where a female human figure with frog head is depicted, see Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, p. 352.

51 Leiden F 1962/12; U. Luft, 'A different world – religious conceptions', in R. Schulz and M. Sedel (eds), *Egypt, the World of the Pharaohs* (Cologne, 1998), p. 418; Kremler, 'On interpreting the meaning of amulets', p. 97.

52 Kremler, 'On interpreting the meaning of amulets', p. 99.

53 Kremler, 'On interpreting the meaning of amulets', p. 98.

54 Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, pp. 370, n. 400.

55 For example, Manchester 11039; Medelhavsmuseet MME 1969.186 and MME 1969.187; Kremler, 'On interpreting the meaning of amulets'.

56 Flinders Petrie, *Roman Ehnasya (Herakleopolis Magna) 1904.* (London, 1905), pp. 9–10, pl. lxiii); F. W. Robins, 'Graeco-Roman Lamps from Egypt', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 25 (1939), 48–51.

57 This example is in Turin Egyptian Museum; L. Sheir 'The frog on lamps from Karanis', in S. A. Hanna (ed.), *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya* (Leiden, 1972), p. 357 (with references).

58 Both oil lamps and vase are referenced in A. El-Khachab, 'Some gem amulets depicting Harpocrates seated on a lotus flower. To the memory of my great friend Dr Alexandre Piankoff', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 57 (1971), 136, n. 6.

59 The holding of knives was a common factor of daemons and, to a lesser extent, of greater gods. Daemon doorkeepers and other guardians of thresholds in particular were shown wielding knives. The knife was not a military weapon, though it was used in religious rituals, and in texts was said to destroy the enemies of Re. Knives symbolised several ideas, including punishment of enemies and protection of the sun god.

Representations of daemons holding knives with hind feet becomes more common from the New Kingdom. It may be foreshadowed on Middle Kingdom wands, where non-animal form deities hold knives with their 'feet', or at least the limbs upon which they are shown to walk; see, for example, the sun-disk with knife (Quirke, Birth Tusks, p. 387). There is one unparalleled example where the hippopotamus holds a knife with a hind foot (MMA 30.8.218; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 273–4), though the authenticity of this piece is disputed. On another example a baboon holding a Wedjat-eye has a knife on a hind foot (Walters Art Gallery 71.510; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, p. 270, pl. VI). *Coffin Text* 503 describes the deceased, who as we shall see are closely related to daemons, holding knives in their feet and hands; see Rune Nyord, *Breathing Flesh. Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen, 2009), pp. 285 n. 3009, 430.

From the New Kingdom onwards, the holding of knives by feet is much more common. One of the earliest deities to hold foot knives is Bes, though the hippopotamus and others soon follow. By the Graeco-Roman period there are several depictions of the composite deity Tutu holding knives with his hind paws, for example: Penn Museum 65-34-1. For Tutu see Olaf Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu: A Study of the Sphinx-god and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments* (Leuven, 2003).

There could be several reasons for depictions of deities holding knives with their feet. It may be intended to show that the daemons have sharp claws. Various gods and daemons were said to have claws like sharp knives and the use of feet in fighting is common among animals such as the black kite (Milvus migrans). And/or it may be intended to show the extra ability of daemons. Daemons are also shown with snakes held in their mouths, and, unlike living people, may be shown as ambidextrous; see C. Graves-Brown, 'Beyond the technological: a novice knapper's experience', in C. Graves-Brown (ed.), *Egyptology in the Present: Experiential and Experimental Methods in Archaeology* (Swansea, 2015), pp. 40–4. In the case of Tutu, the very many other dangerous animals making up the god suggest the knives and scorpion were intended to enhance the fierce nature of the deity.

60 For dating of frog amulets see Kremler, 'On interpreting the meaning of amulets', p. 98.

61 For more information on this class of object, see Françoise Dunand, *Catalogue des terres cuites Greco- Romanines d'Egypte* (Paris, 1990) and László Török, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt* (Rome, 1995). These objects are found on settlement sites, in temples (see, for example, Bernard Grenfell, A. S. Hunt and D. G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* (London, 1900), pp. 37, 52), and in tombs (see W. M. F. Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis* (IV), (London, 1911), pls. 14–16). The offering of clay votives in temples and homes was a Greek, not an Egyptian, phenomenon; see L. Török, *Hellenising Art in Ancient Nubia and its Egyptian Models. A Study in Acculturation* (Leiden, 2011), p. 86.

62 Smith disputes the common claim that such figures were ever votives in household shrines; see Mark Smith, *Following Osiris. Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford, 2017), p. 437–8.
63 S. Sandrini, 'Terracottas', in C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 630–47.
64 See Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 387–8, for further examples.
65 Roberson, 'The Early History of 'New Kingdom' Netherworld'; Liptay, 'From Middle Kingdom Apotropaia to Netherworld Books', p.151.

4. Those with Sticking-out Tongues, Dwarves, Hippopotami and Problems of Gender: Daemons from the New Kingdom and Later

1 Dimitri Meeks, 'Le nom du dieu Bès et ses implications mythologiques', in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, Studia Aegyptiaca, 14 (Budapest, 1992), pp. 423–36.
2 Beatrice Teissier, *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age* (Fribourg, 1996), pp. 78–9.
3 Petrie Museum, UC16069.
4 Sleep was a dangerous time; see Kasia Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes. Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, 2003); Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca, 2005), p. 104. The earliest headrest with both Bes and the hippopotamus deity thereon dates to *c*.1750 BC; see Stephen Quirke, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2015), p.190.
5 There are many cross-cultural examples of masks with furrowed brows, wide nostrils and wild hair, including Japanese daemons, Humbaba, gargoyles and gorgons. Usually their expressions are explained as anger, sometimes as apotropaic gestures or as inversions of the everyday. In Egypt, dwarves, including the Pataikos figure, may be shown with a furrowed brow (for example, Metropolitan Museum of Art 34.1.130). Bes is associated with both old age and childhood, and the furrowed brow may emphasise age.

Several Egyptian deities were shown with protruding tongues: the Great Cat of Heliopolis as he slays the Apep snake (TT 359, the tomb of Innerkau); the standing lion unguent jar from the tomb of Tutankhamun; and the cosmetic jar with recumbent lion, also from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Cattle being sacrificed are shown with protruding tongues. There are even shabti figures with protruding tongues. The hippopotamus deity's tongue does not protrude prominently, though tongue as well as the teeth may be visible. Emphasis on the tongue may have conveyed that the being was making a loud sound. The protruding tongue of Bes may have related him to lions, also shown with protruding tongues, or, even associated him with human babies. For the protruding tongue symbolising aggression or insult and as an apotropaic gesture, see Y. Volokhine, 'Quelques aspects de Bès dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque gréco-romaine', in L. Bricault and M. J. Versluys (eds), *Isis on the Nile, Egyptian Gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Isis Studies, Liège, November 27–29, 2008* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), pp. 233–5; Dimitri Meeks, *Mythes e légendes du Delta d'après le Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84*, Cairo 2006, p. 155, 306-7.
6 Caitlín Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos. A Study in Hellenistic Relgion* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), pp. 274–5, n. 1038. Bes had cult centres and priests at several temples. A small temple at Saqqara was dedicated to him.

7 D. Klotz, 'The Lecherous Pseudo-Anubis of Josephus and the 'Tomb of 1897' at Akhmim', in A. Gasse, F. Servajean and C. Thiers (eds), *Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum: Recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier* (Montpellier, 2012), p. 395.

8 K. Bosse-Griffiths, 'A Beset Amulet from the Amarna Period', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 63 (1977), 98–106.

9 James Romano, 'The Bes-image in Pharaonic Egypt' (unpublished PhD thesis, New York University, New York, 1989), p. 271.

10 Heidelberg accession number 290; S. Schott, 'Eine Kopfstütze des Neuen Reiches', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterumskunde*, 83 (1958), 141–4.

11 Anna Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna. The Material Evidence*, BAR International Series 1587 (Oxford, 2006), pp. 34–5, 40, 144–5, 169–72.

12 Stevens, *Private Religion*, p. 31.

13 For his solar associations, see M. Malaise, 'Bes et les croyances solaires', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 680–729. For feminine rebirth, see C. Graves-Brown, 'A gazelle, a lute player and Bes: three ring bezels from Amarna', in A. Dodson, J. J. Johnston and W. Monkhouse (eds), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in honour of W. J. Tait*, London, 2014), pp. 113–26.

14 Randolph Humphrey Berens, née McLaughlin (1844–1922), took the name Berens on his marriage in 1877 with Eleanor Frances. Both collected Egyptian antiquities. The items are listed in the catalogue of Eleanor Berens's artefacts sold on 31 July 1923, lots 66–9. Their Wellcome number was A 24693. A more complete account of how the items came to Swansea is given in Bosse-Griffiths, 'Bead Collars with Amarna Amulets'.

15 For example William Ward, 'A Unique Beset figurine', *Orientalia* 41/2 (1972), p. 151; Romano, 'The Bes-image', p. 64; Altenmüller claims Beset is mentioned in a New Kingdom text; see H. Altenmüller, 'Bes', in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie,* Vol. I, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), p. 731. Altenmüller cites JaroslavČerny and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* I, (Oxford, 1957), pl. 73, No 2 verso line 4. This item is the Petrie Museum's UC39657, a text requesting writing items and enquiring about the health of people, including one named 'Basa'; see Edward Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990), p. 165, no. 270. The reference, therefore, is not to Bes the daemon, but to Basa.

16 John Taylor (ed.), *Journey Through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 2010), p. 202.

17 Graeco-Roman Beset often appeared unnamed on amulets, depicted either as a naked female who is not a dwarf, but has a lion's ears and tail, or, in contrast, as a female dwarf with human face and flowing hair, usually nude and sometimes pregnant (or plump). She sometimes carries Bes on her shoulders, stands upon an antelope, a frog or a papyrus stalk; see Jeanne Bulté, *Talismans Égyptiens d'Heureuse Maternité*, (Paris, 1991).

18 K. Kóthay, 'A Dwarfish Figure Carrying a Dog: Some Thoughts on the Representation of Bodies and the Migration of Iconographic Themes and Motifs in Egyptian Art', *Bulletin Musée hongrois des beaux-arts*, 116/117 (2012), pp. 18–19.

19 Jan Quaegebeur and Nadine Cherpion (eds), *La Naine et le Bouquetin Ou L'Énigme de la Barque en Albâtre de Toutankhamon*, (Leuven, 1999).

20 Lesley Kinney *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom*, BAR International Series, 1809 (Oxford, 2008), p. 131, figs 6.21 and 6.22.

21 Papyrus of Neferubenef Louvre III.93; see Suzanne Ratié, *Papyrus of Neferubenef:* Louvre III 93 (Cairo: BdE, 1968), pp. 10–11, pl. 13; R. Lucarelli, 'Demons in the Book of the Dead', in B. Backes, I. Munro and S. Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beitrage Des 2.*

Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. Bis 29. September 2005 (Studien Zum Altaegyptischen Totenbuch) (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 203–12.

22 Veronique Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (New York, 1993), p. 77.

23 These include the Berlin headrest (accession no. 11625), Köngliche Museen zu Berlin (1899, 196); Alexander Scharff, *Die Götter Ägyptens* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 32–3, pl. 25; Schott, 'Eine Kopfstütze des Neuen Reiches', pp. 141–4. Andrea Sinclair first drew my attention to these parallels. There is also a British Museum wooden ointment spoon (EA5953) and a wooden chair from KV46, the tomb of Yuya and Tuya, which belonged to queen Tiy. Both of these have long haired Bes figures.

24 Bosse-Griffiths, 'A Beset Amulet'. The two mentioned are the clay mould in the Fitzwilliam Museum (FGA 5995-1943) and an amulet in the E. and H. Kopfler-Truniger collection. For the latter, see Hans Müller, Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern (MAS 5) (Berlin, 1964), p. 93, fig. 132a.

25 I thank the curator for sending me a clear image for comparison.

26 Quaegebeur and Cherpion, *La Naine et le Bouquetin*.

27 Stephen Quirke, *Birth Tusks: The Armoury of Health in Context – Egypt 1800 BC* (London, 2016), p. 529, with further references.

28 Accession number EGA 4299; Emma Brunner-Traut, *Egyptian Artists' Sketches. Figured Ostraka from the Gayor-Anderson Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. (Leiden, 1979), p. 31, pl. 5.

29 Ward, 'A Unique Beset figurine'.

30 Kóthay, 'A Dwarfish Figure', p. 19.

31 The Egypt Exploration Society (EES) Amarna object card TA.OC.30-31.323 may depict our example, though in a more complete state. These cards illustrate small finds excavated from Amarna and were produced during the excavation process. EES object cards can be viewed online at https://www.flickr.com/photos/egyptexplorationsociety/collections/72157653989072968/ [Accessed July 2016].

32 Stevens, *Private Religion*, p. 32, fig. 11.2.2, no. 30/784.

33 P. Kousoulis, 'Egyptian vs. otherness and the issue of acculturation in the Egyptian demonic discourse of the Late Bronze Age', in N. Stampolidis, A. Kanta and A. Giannikouri (eds), Athanasia: the Earthly, the Celestial and the Underworld in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (Heraklion, 2012), pp. 257–67.

34 Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, p. 59.

35 For the flute, see Leiden F 1964/1.4; Paola Giovetti and D. Picchi (eds), *Egypt: Millenary Splendour. The Leiden Collection in Bologna* (Milan, 2016), pl. 347. For the harp, see Louvre Accession number AF 12864.

36 For a similar amulet, see Peter Lacovara, B. T. Trope, T. Halkedis and A. Halkedis, *The Collector's Eye: Masterpieces of Egyptian Art from the Thalassic Collection, Ltd* (Atlanta, 2001), p. 147. While round percussion instruments played by Bes are often called 'tambourines', there is little evidence for the instruments having jangles. However, an amulet depicting an instrument played by a Bes-like monkey does appear to show jangles (Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.4637.1943).

37 Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Volume 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms (Los Angeles, 1975), p. 27.

38 Irena Lexová, *Ancient Egyptian Dances* (Prague, 1935), pp. 33–6.

39 The bended leg stance is similar to the Nubian dance depicted at Silsila and at the Colonnade Halls of Luxor. However, in Nubian dance the arms were used more. This dance is sometimes

said to be a dance of celebration, or a war dance. A papyrus from the Twelfth Dynasty (1991–1806 BC) temple of Senwosret II at Lahun shows the temple employed Asiatic, Nubian and Egyptian dancers at festivals see Francis Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), pp. 59–61. For Nubian dancing, see H. Wild, 'Une danse nubienne d'époque pharaonique', *Kush* 7 (1959), 76–90. One might expect some similarity between Bes's dance and that of Nubians, given Bes's foreign links. Lexová, *Ancient Egyptian Dances*, pp. 33–6, also suggests that the dancing of dwarves and pygmies is similar to that of Bes. Certainly Middle Kingdom statues show dancing pygmies with bent legs; see D. O' Connor, 'An expanding worldview. Conquest, colonization, coexistence', in A. Oppenheim, D. Arnold, D. Arnold and K. Yamamoto (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed. The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015), p. 174. Of course, Bes's bent legs may simply be due to his dwarf associations. Dwarf and pygmy dances are said to be farewell dances associated with the setting of the sun. O'Connor, 'An Expanding Worldview', pp. 174–5, suggests that the eyes of the figurines of dancing pygmies indicate that they may be in a shamanistic trance.

40 For example, on the chair of Sitamun (Cairo CG 51113).

41 For example, they are shown carrying clubs in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor temple; see the Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, Volume 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall* (Chicago, 1994), pl. 94.

42 For further information on sistra, see A. Barahona, 'Ancient objects relating to music and ancient Egypt in the National Achaeological Museum of Madrid', in M. Eldamaty and M. Trads (eds), *Egyptian Museum Collections Around the World. Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, Vol. 1 (Cairo, 2002), pp. 75–87; M. Reynders, 'Names and types of Egyptian sistra', in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems (eds), *Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, Part II (Leuven, 1998), pp. 1014–26.

43 Sotheby sale catalogue, 18.7.1919, lot 162.

44 While music was used to scare away birds, I know of no instances where it is used to scare other entities. This does not mean that it was not apotropaic, it is simply that there is no clear evidence. The way that musicians appear at times to be turned toward them may suggest an apotropaic quality, as daemons are sometimes shown facing front (see this volume, p. 54).

45 Hickmann claims that there are no examples of Bes playing a sistrum and that his predilection for percussion instruments is due to his Nubian origins; see Hans Hickmann, *Dieux et Déeses de la Musique* (Cairo: Édition des Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne, Series VI: 1954).

46 Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1952), p. 102.

47 Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, p. 58.

48 Louvre accession number E25479; J. Vandier, 'Une statuette de Touéris', *Revue de Louvre et des Musées de France*, 12 (1962), p. 199; J. Borghouts, 'Divine intervention in ancient Egypt and its manifestation (bAw)', in R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 18, 53.

49 Capel sees a clear difference between Ipet and Taweret; Ipet is a celestial goddess, while Taweret is associated with tree goddesses; see Anne Capel and G. Markoe, (eds), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven. Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1996). References in Quirke, *Exploring Religion* are to Ipy/Taweret unless otherwise stated.

50 The exact meaning of *ipet* is unclear. To translate it as 'harem' may imbue it with incorrect modern connotations of sexuality and the restriction of women. 'Private, royal quarters' could arguably be a more accurate translation than 'harem'.

51 Thomas Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day. Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms* (Chicago, 1974), p. 29.
52 Katarina Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings: Conceptual Background and Transmission* (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 60–1. For more on the protective nature of crocodiles, see S. Ikram, 'Crocodiles: Guardians of the gateways', in Z. Hawass and S. Ikram (eds), *Thebes and Beyond: Studies in Honor of Kent R. Weeks* (Cairo, 2010).
53 British Museum accession number EA5473.
54 For the water association, see Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1934–1935*, III (Cairo, 1939), pp. 107–9. For milk as a rejuvenating liquid, see John Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs Of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX. Orbis Biblicus Et Orientalis* (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 315–16.
55 C. Graves-Brown, 'Flint and the Northern Sky', in T. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories. A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of His Retirement* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments: Münster, 2008), pp. 111–37.
56 Arielle Kozloff and B. M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun. Amenhotep III and his World* (Cleveland, 1992), p. 403; following D. Meeks, 'Ipet', in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. 3, (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 174.
57 Otto Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3 (Providence, 1960–9), p. 189; K. Locher, 'Probable Identification of the Ancient Egyptian Circumpolar Constellations', *Archaeoastronomy*, 9 (1985), 151–2. Geographical names spelled Djamet (Djeme) in late texts are frequently written with the crocodile alone; see Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques Contenus dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 6 (Cairo, 1925), pp. 104–15; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts,* vol. 3, p. 189.
58 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts,* vol. 3, 190.
59 The Cenotaph of Seti I depicts Nut with the words 'in the first month of Inundation after Sothis has appeared'; see Henri Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), vol. 1, 74 and vol. 2, pl. 81.
60 Accession number: 70.2.
61 For example, chapel 1213 at Deir el-Médina; see Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1929* (Cairo, 1930), pp. 19–23; A. Pírez, 'Hippo goddesses of the Egyptian pantheon', in H. A. el Gawad, N. Andrews, M. Correas-Amador, V. Tamorri and J. Taylor (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2011. Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Symposium which took place in Durham University, United Kingdom, March 2011* (Oxford, 2012), p. 212. The epithet '(of) the pure water', applied to Taweret at Deir el-Medina was probably imported from Gebel el-Silsila; see A. Kucharek, 'Gebel el-Silsila', in J. Dieleman, E. Frood and W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2012), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2x73c8bz, p. 4.
62 For example, on the Turin Stela 50057; see Mario Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrefi di Deir el Medina No. 50001–5062* (Turin, 1972), p. 93 and Pirez, 'Hippo goddesses', p. 212. For Taweret's role in the Inundation, see Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel: Nofretari Pour qui se Lève le Dieu-Soleil* (Cairo, 1968), p. 221. n. 500.
63 A. K. Capel and G. E. Markoe, *Mistress of the House*, pp. 130–2.
64 Stephanie Budin, *Images of Woman and Child from the Bronze Age; Reconsidering Fertility, Maternity, and Gender in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 76.
65 Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 558–9. For Ipet lighting the desert path for Osiris, see John Darnell, *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1–45 and Wadi el-Hôl Inscriptions 1–45*, Theban Desert Road

Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert, Vol. 1 (Chicago, 2002), p. 77.

66 Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 558–9. For Ipet lighting the desert path for Osiris, see John Darnell, *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1–45 and Wadi el-Hôl Inscriptions 1–45*, Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert Vol. 1 (Chicago, 2002), pp. 77–8.

67 British Museum EA10470. Egyptologists tend to refer to her as Ipet; see C. Spieser, 'Avaleuses et dévoreuses: des déesses aux démones en Égypte ancienne', *Chronique D'Égypte*, 84 (2009), 5–19, pp. 12–13; Taylor, *Journey Through the Afterlife*, pp. 252–3.

68 The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VI. The Temple Proper. Part II. The Re Chapel, the Royal Mortuary Complex and Adjacent Rooms, with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* (Chicago, 1963), pls. 420, 433. This type of scene is discussed in Janusz Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari VI, The Temple of Hatshepsut, The Solar Complex* (Warsaw, 2003), pp. 223–4.

69 A. K. Capel and G. E. Markoe (eds), *Mistress of the House,* p. 85 (with references).

70 Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities formed in Egypt by R. de Rustafjaell, Esq*., 19th December 1906 and the following two days, lot 152.

71 We cannot be sure who marked it as 'Akhmim', though several Wellcome objects now in other museums are marked in blue pencil.

72 Killen type BDg; see Geoffrey Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture, Volume III, Ramesside Furniture* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 53.

73 Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), pl. 24.

74 Divine birth is discussed in M. Rikala, 'Sacred marriage in the New Kingdom of ancient Egypt: Circumstantial evidence for a ritual interpretation', in M. Nissinen and R. Uro (eds), *Sacred Marriages. The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity* (Winona Lake, 2008) 115–44.

75 Quirke, *Exploring Religion*, p. 189.

76 Quirke, *Exploring Religion*, p. 190.

77 B. R. Hellinckx, 'The Symbolic Assimilation of Head and Sun as expressed by Headrests', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (2001), pp. 29–95.

78 D. Frankfurter, 'Ritual expertise in Roman Egypt and the problem of the category 'magician', in P. Schäfer and H. G. Kippenberg (eds), *Envisioning Magic. A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leiden, 1997), p. 124. On Bes's funerary roles, see L. Kákosy, 'Der Gott Bes in einer koptischen Legende', *Acta Antique Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricia*, 14 (1966), 193–4. Dasen discusses the funerary role of an unnamed lion dwarf and Bes's funerary role (*Dwarfs*, p. 47).

79 *Pyramid Texts* 381, 382.

80 Jaana Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina. A Study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants at the Workmen's Community During the Ramesside Period* (Leiden, 2001), p. 178.

81 For the depiction of a bed, see Ostraca Medelhavsmuseet MM14 005.

82 For ostraca with nursing mothers, see British Museum EA8506 where a stool is depicted.

83 Although these are called 'birth arbours', the women appear highly sexualised, suggesting that the arbours functioned as more than simply rest areas; see Lynn Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 100–2.

84 G. Pinch, 'Childbirth and Female Figurines at Deir el-Medina and el-Amarna', *Orientalia*, 52 (1983), p. 406, pl. 5.

85 For cobras protecting against night dangers, see Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes*, pp. 170–1.

86 E. Brunner-Traut, 'Die Wochenlaube', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, 3 (1955), p. 24. Additionally, snakes associated with Bes may be protective. Willems suggests that the snakes Bes (or rather Aha) holds are actually protective snakes; see Harco Willems, *The Coffin*

of Heqata (Cairo Jde 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 70 (Leuven, 1996), p. 129, n. 546. Willems further cites Berlandini's publication of a bed on which Osiris is shown copulating with a woman; see J. Berlandini, 'L' "acéphale" et le rituel de revirilisation', *Oudheidkundige mededeelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, 73 (1993), 29–37. The Osiris bed is guarded by a Bes figure holding two snakes. Snakes guard against the bodily efflux of Osiris. Indeed, several protective demons hold snakes (see this volume, pp. 115 and 117.

87 For birth bowers associated with birth and rebirth, see Dorothea Arnold, *The Royal Women of Amarna. Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), p. 100.

88 For example, Louvre N3614 and Metropolitan Museum of Art 15.3.197: Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, pp. 250 and 149 (respectively). There are also lions shown in a similar stance eating people; see, for example Petrie Museum UC15917 (Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, p. 336).

89 Papyrus Harris; Hans Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (A. S. Host and Son: Copenhagen, 1927), p. 93.

90 Darnell, *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1–45,* pp. 77–8.

91 Accession number B.1422/ABDUA: 21491; C. De Wit, 'Une statuette de Thouëris au Musée de Aberdeen', in P. Naster, H. De Meulenaere and J. Quaegebeur (eds), *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica (Miscellania in honorem Josephi Vergote)* 6/7, (Leuven, 1975/76), pp. 205–7; Borghouts, 'Divine intervention', pp. 18 and 53, no 77); the figure is assumed by the author to be Taweret, though it could be Ipet.

92 H. te Velde, 'Some Egyptian deities and their piggishness', in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday,* Studia Aegyptiaca, 14, (Budapest, 1992), pp. 571-8.

93 Colleen Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, Ägypten und altes Testament, 72 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 112–17 and discussed further in this volume, p. 30, n. 12, and p. 46.

94 Cathie Spieser, 'Avaleuses et dévoreuses: des déesses aux démones en Égypte ancienne', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 84 (2009), 5–19.

95 Most artefacts in museums of Egyptian antiquities tend to come from funeral contexts. It is these contexts which usually give more complete specimens. However, several hippopotamus amulets have come from the city of Amarna.

96 J. Berlandini, 'Un monument magique du "Quatrième prophète d'Amon" Nakhtemout', in Y. Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: À la recherché d'une définition; Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000* (Paris, 2002), pp. 83–148.

97 László Török, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1995), p. 63. For the close association between the two, see Malaise, 'Bes et les croyances solaires'.

98 K. Seele, 'Horus on the Crocodiles', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 6 (1947), p. 47.

99 Robert Ritner *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1997), fig. 9.

100 Late Period Cairo Museum JE55526.

101 The stela of Djedher has accession number 46341; Eva Jelínková-Reymond, *Les Inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Her-Le-Sauveur*, Bibliothèque d'Étude, 23 (Cairo, 1956).

102 Accession number 50.85.

103 Joris Borghouts *Ancient Magical Texts* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), p. 70.

104 For example, Louvre CA6022.

105 National Archaeological Museum accession number 614; in Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, p. 73 pl. 7 [1].

106 For example, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.1.1818

107 This may explain his link with the sexually revitalised Osiris (this volume pp. 56, 92). Dwarves in general seem to be associated with sexuality, or at least fertility. It has been suggested that depictions of female dwarves had much in common with fertility figurines. Both are usually naked, often have no legs below the knee and wear girdles and necklaces. See Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, p. 140 and Pinch, 'Childbirth' for studies of fertility dolls. The female dwarf on the famous travertine model boat of Tutankhamun is associated with rebirth and fertility; see Quaegebeur and Cherpion, *La Naine et le Bouquetin*. It may also compliment the standing lion with sticking-out tongue on the travertine perfume jar, which has recently been seen to be part of the same object. Quaegebeur and Cherpion see this as a Bes figure.

108 P. Del Vesco, 'A Votive Bed Fragment in the Egyptian Museum of Florence (Italy)', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 32 (2009), 31–7; Emily Teeter, *Baked Clay Figurines and Votive Beds from Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 2010).

109 A female dwarf on a travertine model boat from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE62120) may also relate to the same ritual. *Quaegebeur* argues that the ibex on the boat is interchangeable with Bes; see Quaegebeur and Cherpion, *La Naine et le Bouquetin*.

110 Metropolitan Museum of Art 42.5.19; http://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/546189.

111 Dasen has several examples of anonymous dwarf gods who are often said to be between earth and sky (*Dwarfs*, p. 46). For holding up the sky, see M. Malaise, 'Bès et Béset: Métamorphoses d'un démon et naissance d'une démone dans l'Égypte ancienne', in L. Ries and H. Limet (eds), *Anges et Démons. Actes du Colloque de Liège de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–26 novembre 1987* (Louvainla-Neuve, 1989), p. 55.

112 J. Darnell, 'Hathor Returns to Medamûd', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 22 (1995), p. 91; B. Richter, 'On the heels of the wandering goddess. The myth and festival at the temples of Wadi el-Hallel and Dendera', in M. Dolińska and H. Beinlich (eds), Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Interconnections Between Temples, Warsaw, 25th–26th September 2008 (Wiesbaden, 2010), pp. 155–86; Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*, p. 274.

113 The headrest is British Museum EA51806. Textual evidence, possibly relating to this, is much later and includes an Edfu text describing a youth and a dwarf maiden emerging from a lotus (Edfu I, 289/pl. 319) and a demotic text (Berlin demotic Papyrus 13603, 2, 8) which has been translated 'a dwarf maiden has come forth from the lotus bud'; cited in Marie-Louise Ryhiner, *L'Offrande du Lotus dans les Temples Égyptiens de l'Époque Tardive* (Brussels, 1986), p. 143 no. 7).

114 Bes is associated with protection of the Eye on the Metternich Stela.

115 Quaegebeur and Cherpion, *La Naine et le Bouquetin*.

116 Heike Sternberg-el-Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen: ein Beitrag zur Religiongeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausand v. Chr*. (Wiesbaden, 1999).

117 Robert Ritner, 'Horus on the crocodiles: a juncture of religion and magic in Late Dynastic Egypt', in J. P. Allen (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), p. 106. Though see this volume p. 7, n. 4, where levels of literacy are questioned.

118 Seele, 'Horus on the Crocodiles', p. 48.

119 Cairo Museum 18490; Ritner, *Mechanics*, n. 523 (with references).

120 Louvre 10777; G. D. L. Lefebvre, 'La statue "guérisseuses" du Musée du Louvre', *Bulletin de l'Institut dArchéologie Orientale*, 30 (1931), pp. 89–96); Jelínková-Reymond, *Les Inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Her-Le-Sauveur*; Ritner, *Mechanics*, p. 107.

121 Borghouts, *Ancient Magical Texts*, pp. 83–4.

122 Sternberg-el-Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, pp. 27–8.

123 Ritner, 'Horus on the Crocodiles', p. 106.

124 P. Charvát, 'The Bes jug – Its Origin and Development in Egypt', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterumskunde*, 107 (1980), 46–52; Kevin Kaiser, 'Water, Milk, Beer and Wine for the Living and the Dead: Egyptian and Syrio-Palestinian Bes-Vessels from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkley, 2003).

125 For example, Arielle Kozloff and B. M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun. Amenhotep III and His World*. (Clevelandt, 1992), p. 409.

126 As with W2052a we cannot be sure who marked it, though several Wellcome objects now in other museums are marked in blue pencil.

127 Stevens, *Private Religion*, pp.168–9 (with references).

128 James Romano, 'The Origin of the Bes-Image', *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*, 2 (1980), 39–56; J. Romano, '18 vessels in the form of a Bes-image', in Capel and Markoe, (eds), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven*, pp. 68–70, 196 (with references).

129 Examples include Berlin 22200; see Heinrich Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925), fig. 444 (middle), pp. 661–2. Not all examples were found in Egypt, for example Louvre AO25952; see Annie Caubet, 'From Susa to Egypt. Vitreous materials from the Achaemenid Period', in J. Curtis. and St. J. Simpson (eds), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East* (London and New York, 2010), pp. 4, 413, fig. 37.4a-e.

130 Kaiser, 'Water, Milk, Beer and Wine'.

131 For similar jars, see Dorothea Arnold and J. D. Bourriau, *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* (Mainz, 1993), fig. 100F; Herbert Beck, P. C. Bol and M. Bückling, Ägypten Greichenland Rom Abwehr und Berühung Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städische Galerie, 2005–2006 (Frankfort am Main, 2005), p. 534.

132 See Kaiser, 'Water, Milk, Beer and Wine', p. 268, for information on this type of vessel.

133 It is also known that Petrie purchased items from collectors.

134 Robert Anderson, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum III, Musical Instruments* (London, 1976), p. 29.

135 British Museum EA1963,1112.25; Anderson, *Musical Instruments*, pp. 38, 47, fig. 66; Nicholas Reeves, *Catalogue of Carnarvon-Carter Material at Highclere Castle* http://www.nicholasreeves.com/item.aspx?category=Collections&id=121 (copyright 2008–2011 [Accessed 2.11.2016].

136 For example, British Museum EA847,0806.161; British Museum EA38160; British Museum EA6374; Anderson, *Musical Instruments*, pp. 32, 33, fig.48; Cairo Museum JE53326.

137 Accession numbers: UC52168, UC52169, UC33266, UC8976.

138 Flinders Petrie, *Amulets* (London, 1914), p. 28, fig. 124; Flinders Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* (London, 1927), p. 58, pl. L, nos. 299 and 300.

139 Petrie Museum UC59163.

140 See also examples in Anderson, *Musical Instruments*.

141 For example EA69537 features Sobek, Khnum, Hathor and Bes. British Museum EA38160 features a ram, a lioness, a jackal and Bes.

142 Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 58. Though by the Middle Kingdom bells were associated with the protective child god Ihy: *my bell is [her ...], [which] my mother [gives to herself] so that she may be knit together by it* (*Coffin Text* 334 (CT IV 179a – 183j)1).

143 See: Flinders Petrie *Objects of Daily Use* (London, 1927), p. 24, nos. 33–7, pl. XVIII. Bronze bells were also found in 23rd to 26th Dynasty graves in the Delta, some of them child burials: Flinders Petrie, *Hyksos and the Israelite Cities* (London, 1906), pp. 3, 18, 39, 40, 42, 45, Pl XIX A. In a 26th Dynasty Delta grave of a child were several amulets including one of Bes, a glazed

bell and several bronze bells. At Late Period and Ptolemaic Matmar in Middle Egypt, two bronze bells were found in burials: Guy Brunton, *Matmar. British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt, 1929–1931* (London, 1948), pp. 76 and 91. One was found in the grave of a child and the other was found on a chain around the neck of a woman. A possible third bell, much corroded, was found on the chest of the woman. Bells may have been associated with women as well as children because women, but not men, commonly kept childhood charms. It could be that males were required to dispose of them on adulthood.

144 Alexandra Villing, 'For Whom Did the Bell Toll in Ancient Greece? Archaic and Classical Greek Bells at Sparta and Beyond', *Annual of the British School of Athens*, 97 (2002), pp. 223–95. Villing also points out that while bells in the graves of children are often said to be toys, very often these bells are not functional.

145 Hickmann, H. 1954, 'Dieux et déesses de la musique', *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, 6/1: 31–59. *Dieux et Déeses*, p. 44. Hickmann also states that some depictions of child deities show them wearing bells around their necks, though these could alternatively be bullae.

146 British Museum EA1963,1112.25 and Cairo Museum JE53326 respectively.

147 Franz Ballod, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte der Zwerghaften Götter in Ägypten* (Moscow, 1913), pp. 91–3.

148 Though Wilson suggests that early deities were often depicted as a head or mask alone; see P. Wilson, 'Masking and multiple personas', in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries Between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Leuven, 2011), p. 83.

149 For a discussion and further references on masking, see Arelene Wolinski, *Ceremonial Masks of Ancient Egypt* (Texas, 2000); P. Wilson, 'Masking'. Wolinski is sometimes criticised for taking the position of lappets as an indicator of masking and for seeing every animal-headed, human-bodied being as a masked human. However, many of her other points seem valid. For a discussion of her work, see D. Sweeney, 'Egyptian Masks in Motion', *Göttinger Miszellen* 135 (1993), 101–4.

150 Amulets with Bes holding his tail first appear under Amenhotep II; see Romano, 'The Bes Image', p. 72. They continue throughout the occupation of Deir el-Medina.

151 D. Franke, '*Sem*-priest on duty', in S. Quirke and O. D. Berlev (eds), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva. The Egyptological Legacy of O. D. Berlev* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 67–8; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, p. 363.

152 As has been stated elsewhere; see, for example, Ritner, *Mechanics*, p. 223, n. 1037.

153 H. Hays, 'Between identity and agency in ancient Egyptian ritual', in R. Nyord and A. Kjølby (eds), *'Being in Ancient Egypt': Thoughts on Agency, Materiality and Cognition: Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Copenhagen, September 29–30, 2006*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 29–30.

154 C. Graves-Brown, 'Hathor, Nefer and daughterhood in New Kingdom private tombs', in H. Navratilova and R. Landgráfová (eds), *Sex and the Golden Goddess. World of the Love Songs II* (Prague, 2015), p. 23 (with references); see also this volume, p. 151, n. 46.

155 For funerary masks as unifying, see Rune Nyord, *Breathing Flesh. Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen, 2009), p. 522. For masks as transformational, see D. Meeks 'Dieu masqué, dieu sans tête', *Archéo-Nil,* 1 (1991), 5–15.

156 There is a possible clay Anubis mask in Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim (accession number: 1585) and a cartonnage example in Harrogate Museum (HARGM.10686). A well-known relief from the temple of Hathor at Dendera shows a priest wearing an Anubis mask; see Auguste Mariette, *Dendérah: description générale du grand temple de cette ville, Vol. 4: Plates* (Paris, 1871), pl. 31. See also T. DuQuesne, 'Concealing and Revealing: The Problem of Ritual Masking in Ancient Egypt', *Discussions in Egyptology*, 51 (2001), 5–31. Assmann believes it

likely that Anubis-headed individuals in mummification scenes were probably masked priests, as the scenes otherwise appear 'of this earth': Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, p. 310.

157 Accession number EA994.

158 This and similar scenes are described and discussed in Kinney, *Dance*, pp. 147–53.

159 J. Capart, 'Note sur un fragment de bas-relief au British Museum', *Bulletin De L'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale*, 30 (1931), 73–5; William Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 1946), p. 210). But see L. Weiss, 'Personal Religious Practice: House Altars at Deir el-Medina', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 95 (2009), p. 201 n. 72, for different interpretations of the translation.

160 The Liepzig example is accession number 2095; Edward Wente, 'Hathor at the jubilee', in E. B. Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 86–8; The Berlin example is number 18175; see Z. Horváth, 'Hathor and her festivals at Lahun', in G. Miniaci and W. Grajetski (eds), *The World Of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550BC). Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion and Written Sources*, Vol. 1. (London, 2015), p. 138, which discusses all three.

161 Petrie Museum UC16069; Flinders Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment*, 2 Vols (London, 1924), p. 18, pl. 40; p. 27, pl. 42, 7.

162 This figure was found in the so-called 'magician's tomb', possibly that of a lector priest, and contained ivory wands and clappers, fertility figures as well as the wooden Beset. One of the best descriptions of the contents comes from Parkinson: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/rp/the_ramesseum_papyri/the_archaeological_context.aspx. See also K. Yamamoto, 'Comprehending Life. Community, Environment and the Supernatural', in A. Oppenheim, D. Arnold, D. Arnold and K. Yamamoto (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed. The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015), pp. 206–7; Quirke, Birth Tusks pp. 98–104.

163 Contra Ritner, *Mechanics*, p.223, n. 1037. For example, the models of Poro figures used by the Senufo of the Ivory Coast in ceremonies. These masked human figures stood in for absent ritualists. One can imagine that perhaps, for the Egyptians, only certain types of people were suitable to take on the persona of the god and in their absence a statuette would suffice

164 Discussed by Wente, 'Hathor at the Jubilee', pp. 86–7.

165 EA47973, published in Susan Walker and P. Higgs (eds), *Cleopatra: Regina d'Egitto* (Milan, 2000), p. 244 (IV.17).

166 R. Ritner, 'Osiris-Canopus and Bes at Herculaneum', in R. Jasnow and K. Cooney (eds) *Joyful in Thebes. Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan* (Atlanta, 2015), pp. 401–6.

167 Accession number 123; Y. Volokhine, 'Dieux, Masques et Hommes: À Propos de la Formation de l'iconographie de Bès', *Bulletin de la Société de Egyptologie, Genève*, 18, (1994), 82–4.

168 Flinders Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (London:, 1890), pl. 8.

169 Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1934–1935)*, pp. 276–7 and fig. 148. Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Médina*, pp. 169–76.

170 J. Berlandini, 'L'acéphale et le ritual de revirilisation' *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen vit het Rijksmusuem van Oudheden* 73 (1993), 29–41; Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, pp. 40–1; L. Bortolani, 'Bes e l'akephalos theos dei PGM', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 31 (2008), pp. 105–26. Though see Mark Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia*, (Oxford, 2017) pp. 478–84, who points out that while Osiris and Bes are related, they are not syncretised. As early as the *Pyramid Texts* the king is made headless as a necessary step to solarised divinity and in the *Coffin Texts* the deceased has his head reattached after being decapitated.

171 Smith, *Following Osiris*, p. 478.

172 Ann Gunter, *A Collector's Journey. Charles Lang Freer and Egypt* (Washington, 2002), pp. 90, 115, 151.
173 Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*, pp. 225, 229.
174 Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*, pp. 232–4.
175 For the Apis, see this volume pp. 146–7.
176 N. Hammond, 'The Royal Journal of Alexander', *Historia* 37 (1988), pp. 143–4; see also C. La'da, 'Encounters with Ancient Egypt: the Hellenistic Greek Experience', in R. Matthews, and C. Roemer (eds), *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt: Encounters with Egypt* (London, 2003), p.168.
177 J. Leibovitch, 'Gods of Agriculture and Welfare in Ancient Egypt', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 12/2 (1953), 73–105.
178 Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*, p. 232. There was also a female version of Shai.
179 Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*, pp. 236–7.
180 Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*.

5. Spirits of the Dead

1 For the Coptic word for daemon, see Joachim Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani: Ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinen kulturellen Umfeld* (Göttingen, 1994), pp. 114–17, 182–3, 424–5). For Greeks, see Panagiotis Kousoulis, 'The Demonic Lore of Ancient Egypt: Questions on Definition', in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic* (Leuven, 2011), pp. ix–xii. For daemons such as *akh* and *akhw*, see R. Lucarelli, 'Demons in the Book of the Dead', in B. Backes, I. Munro and S. Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beitrage Des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. Bis 29. September 2005, Studien Zum Altaegyptischen Totenbuch* (Wiesbaden, 2006), p. 205. Eyre sees spirits of the dead (*akhw*) as no different from daemons; see C. Eyre, 'Belief and the Dead in Pharaonic Egypt' in M.-C. Poo (ed.), *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), pp. 33–46.
2 Some Egyptologists also include *heka*, the shadow, etc.
3 R. Ritner, 'An eternal curse upon the reader of these lines', in Panagiotis Kousoulis, (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology*, p. 184. An excellent introductory study to the dead is John Taylor's *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001). Other introductory publications include Salima Ikram, *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt* (Harlow, 2003); Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca, 2005; John Taylor, (ed.), *Journey Through the Afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 2010).
4 Samuel Brandon, 'The Personification of Death in Some Ancient Religions', *The John Rylands Library Bulletin, 1960–61*, 43 (1961), pp. 317–43.
5 Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume 2: The New Kingdom* (Los Angeles, 1976), p. 138.
6 Papyrus British Museum EA10018.2; Siegfried Schott, *Zum Weltbild der Jenseitsführer des Neuen Reiches* (Göttingen, 1965), no.11.
7 Mark Smith, *Papyri Carlsberg 5. On the Primaeval Ocean* (Copenhagen, 2002), p. 112.
8 For *akhw*, see: Rob Demarée, *The Ax iqr n Ra-Stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden, 1983); Gertie Englund, *Akh – une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Uppsala, 1978); Jiri Janák, 'Akh', in W. Wendrich, J. Dieleman, E. Frood and J. Baines (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7255p86v (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2013) [Accessed August 2016]; Jiri Janák, 'Ba', in W. Wendrich, J. Dieleman, E. Frood and J. Baines (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9tf6x6xp (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2016) [Accessed August 2016]. For the dead equating to spirits see Eyre, 'Belief and the Dead'.

9 Nadine Guilhou, 'La mort et le tabou linguistique dans l'Égypte ancienne', in J.-M. Marconot and S. H. Aufrère (eds), *L'interdit et le sacré dans les religions de la Bible et de l'Égypte. Actes du colloque Montpellier, le 20 mai 1998* (Montpellier, 1999), pp. 69–114.

10 P. Kousoulis, 'Death entities in living bodies. The demonic influence of the dead in the medical texts', in J.-C. Goyon and C. Gardin (eds), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists – Actes du Neuvième Congrès International des Égyptologues. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 150 (Leuven, 2007); N. Harrington, *Living with the Dead, Living with the Dead. Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford and Oakville, 2013) pp. 24–6.

11 Ostracon Gardiner 363; R. Ritner, 'O. Gardiner 363: A spell against night terrors', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), 25–6; Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, pp. 22–4, trans. p. 24.

12 For New Kingdom literature on the dead causing illnesses, see P. Kousoulis, 'Death entities in living bodies', pp. 1043–50.

13 Papyrus Chester Beatty VIII; J. F. Bourghouts, *Ancient Magical Texts* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 10–11).

14 Paul Frandsen, ‘Faeces of the creator or temptations of the dead’, in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology*, p. 57.
15 Kousoulis, ‘The Demonic Lore of Ancient Egypt’.
16 See Michel Valloggia, *Le Mastaba de Medou-Nefer, Fouilles de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, no. 31 (Cairo, 1986), pp. 74–7); Edward Brovarski, ‘The late Old Kingdom at South Saqqara’ in L Pantalacci and C. Berger-El-Naggar (eds), *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep: Travaux archéologiques encours sur la fin de la VIe dynastie et la première période intermédiaire*, (Lyon, 2005), pp. 53–4, 63. It used to be commonly held that in the earliest periods only the king was linked with Osiris and the Osirification of non-royals was sometimes known as ‘the democratisation of the afterlife’. This idea is now highly debatable; see Mark Smith, *Following Osiris. Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia*. (Oxford, 2017) pp. 166–270.
17 See Smith, *Following Osiris.* Smith explores names of deceased combined with Osiris and states 20 per cent of them are written in a way which suggests the genitival adjective, that is, the combination should not be translated as ‘The Osiris N’ but ‘The Osiris of NN’. Smith believes that in the other 80 per cent the intention is to express the direct genitive. Thus, the deceased had an Osiris rather than became one. Additionally, Smith quotes a papyrus where the deceased assumes non-human form in order to follow the deity (Louvre 3452). In fact, the title states that transformation into other animals enables the deceased to follow the gods. Finally, Smith explains that on coffins and funeral papyri the deceased is shown as an individual worshipping the gods. Some scholars attempt to reduce the distinction between becoming Osiris and following Osiris. While *Coffin Text* 227 is a spell for becoming Osiris, Smith claims that, as individuals already had an Osirian form, the spell for becoming an Osiris shows that there was a difference between becoming an Osiris and appearing as one.
18 Demarée, *The Ax iqr n Ra-Stelae,* p. 211.
19 Though some suggest that the idea of *ba* and *ka* reuniting was not an ancient Egyptian belief; see John Gee, ‘A new look at the conception of the human being’, in F. Nyord and A. Kjølby (eds), *‘Being in Ancient Egypt’. Thoughts on Agency, Materiality and Cognition. Proceedings of the Seminar held in Copenhagen, September 29–30, 2006*, BAR International Series, 2019, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 1–14.
20 James H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, Volume 1: Hieroglyphic Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 480–1.
21 Kousoulis, ‘Death entities in living bodies’, p. 1044.
22 Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1997), pp. 180–1.
23 The vignette on this papyrus usually illustrates *Book of the Dead* 1 in the New Kingdom but by the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic Period it illustrates spells 1–15.
24 Published by Kate Bosse-Griffiths, ‘The Papyrus of Hapi-ankh’, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterumskunde*, 123 (1996), 97–102; M. Müller-Roth and F. Weber, ‘Pretty good privacy’, in R. Lucarelli, M. Müller-Roth and A. Wüthrich (eds), *Herausgehen am Tage. Gesammelte Schriften zum altägyptischen Totenbuch* (Wiesbaden, 2012), pp. 117–18.
25 For the British Museum, see EA9946. For others, see Norman Hurst, *A Passion for the Past. Historic Collections from Egypt and the Levant* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), pp. 14–16.
26 Jana Jones, T. F. G. Higham, R. Oldfield, T. P. O’Connor, and S. A. Buckley, 2014, ‘Evidence for Prehistoric Origins of Egyptian Mummification in Late Neolithic Burials’, *PLOS ONE*, 9 (8): e103608.
27 The rites are described in TT23: Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, pp. 323–4. Evidence and descriptions of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony can be found in Eduard Otto, *Das*

Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual, (Wiesbaden, 1960). Evidence for the illuminated dead begins from the Eighteenth Dynasty; see H. Kockelmann, 'Sunshine for the dead: on the role and representation of light in the vignette of Book of the Dead Spell 154 and other funerary sources from Pharaonic to Graeco-Roman Times', in Richard Jasnow and Ghislaine Widmer (eds), *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith* (Atlanta, 2017), p. 56.

28 Though most Egyptologists believe this was a midday rite, e.g. Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, p. 318; Taylor, *Journey Through the Afterlife*, p. 88.

29 D. Lorton, 'The theology of cult statues in Ancient Egypt', in M. B. Dick (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1999) pp. 123–201, 149.

30 Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, pp. 324–9; Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, pp. 14–15.

31 The larger papyrus was sold in lots 79 and 81, as shown in the Sotheby Sale catalogue dated 12 December 1932, p. 10. W867 is lot 79. There is no lot 80. The items had been acquired by a gentleman collector *c*.1830.

32 Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907).

33 Angela Tooley, 'Middle Kingdom Burial Customs, A Study of Wooden Models and Related Material' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1989), pp. 249–98.

34 Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush. Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London and New York, 2003), p. 128, fig. 5.27.

35 Andrzej Niwiński, 'Seelenhaus', in W. Helck and E. Otto, (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. V, (Wiesbaden, 1984), cols. 806-13.

36 A. Bolshakov, 'Offering Tables', in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2001), pp. 572–6.

37 As can be demonstrated by the label on the object which reads '82/7' and the fact that lot 82 of the Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge sale catalogue of Rustafjaell material of 9 December 1907 reads: 'A limestone Slab with figure in relief of the Apis Bull (restored), [Plate 14]; Another of red sandstone, with bull's head; a long Fragment with a row of fourteen Male heads [Plate IV]; part of a Table of Offerings with libatory vases; Figure of a Duck; and other pieces.'

38 Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities 26th June 1922 and the four following days and 3rd July 1922 and three following days*. Lot 1588 describes this stela but gives no provenance.

39 The piece was researched and translated by Effland who attributed it to the first century; see Andreas Effland, 'Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Edfu' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hamburg, Hamburg, 2004), pp. 227–30. The father of the owner of W1041 is mentioned in Cairo Museum stela CG2049; see Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire No. 22001–22238. Stèles Ptolémaiques et Romaines* (Cairo, 1905).

40 Randy Shonkwiler, 'The Behdetite: a study of Horus the Behdedite from the Old Kingdom to the conquest of Alexander' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 2014), particularly pp. 85, 125–6, 481–2, 494.

41 Ben Haring, *Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes, Egyptologische Uitgaven*, 13 (Leiden, 1997), p. 222; Katherine Eaton, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual. Performance, Pattern and Practice* (New York and London, 2013), p. 29.

42 See Effland, 'Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Edfu', p. 231.

43 It is possible that *hes*-vases developed from black-topped red ware *hes*-shaped vessels found mainly in cultic contexts in the Early Dynastic Period; see K. N. Sowada, 'Black-topped ware in Early Dynastic Contexts', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 85 (1999), pp. 85–102.

44 Jan Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 234–40.

45 Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2009), p. 29; M. Smith, 'Resurrection and the body in Graeco-Roman Egypt', in F. V. Reiterer, P. C. Beentjes, N. Calduch-Benages, and B. G. Wright (eds), *The Human Body in Death and Resurrection. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature: Yearbook 2009* (Berlin and New York, 2012), 37–9.

While this idea is explicitly expressed in the Graeco-Roman Period, it is evidenced earlier. From the New Kingdom tomb of Hori (TT259). Khons is said to 'save whom he wants, when he is in the Otherworld, and put another in his place'; see Jan Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg, 2005), p. 574.

46 *Book of Gates*, Chapter 8; translation in Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 236.

47 Zandee, *Death as an* Enemy, p. 239.

48 For example: *Pyramid Text* 316–19; see Raymond Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), p. 69.

49 Jean Yoyotte, *Le Judgement des Morts Dans l'Égypte Ancienne, Sources Orientales*, IV (Paris, 1961), 17–80.

50 Christine Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (München, 1976), p. 67.

51 Yoyotte, *Le Judgement des Morts*, p. 44. Gee has outlined evidence for the scene first being associated with Spell 30B, which is usually translated as beginning, 'Oh my heart of my mother!' Gee believes that 'mother' may also allude to the balance scales; see J. Gee, 'Of Heart Scarabs and Balance Weights: A New Interpretation of Book of the Dead 30B', *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, 36 (2009), 1–15.

52 For more information on the history of the coffin prior to its arrival in Swansea, see R. Morkot, 'Eaten by maggots: the sorry tale of Mr Fuller's coffin', in C. Price, R. Forshaw, A. Chamberlain and P. Nicholson (eds), *Mummies, Magic and Medicine in Ancient Egypt. Multidisciplinary Essays for Rosalie David* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 355–68.

53 For the colour of coffins, see J. Taylor, 'Patterns of colouring on Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: an overview', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), pp. 170–2. The multi-coloured exterior of the coffins may have been associated with the solar and divine.

54 M. Serpico and R. White, 'The use and identification of varnish on New Kingdom funerary equipment', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 36–7.

55 For examples of this view, see A. Niwiński, 'The Solar-Osirian unity as a principle of the theology of the "State of Amun" in Thebes Dynasty 21', *Jaarbericht van het vooraziat-egyptische Genootschap,* 30 (1987–1988); A. Niwiński, 'Untersuchungen zur Ägyptischen Religösen Ikonographie der 21. Dynastie', *Göttinger Miszellen*, 49 (1981), pp. 47–56, pls. 1–3; Van Walsem (1993, pp. 44–5) urges caution, as certain motifs were largely confined to coffins and others to papyri and/or tombs; see Rene van Walsem, 'The Study of 21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes', *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 50 (1993), 10–91.

56 For meanings relating to the heart, see S. A. Naguib, 'Interpreting Abstract Concepts: Towards an Attempt to Classify the Ancient Egyptian Notion of Person', *Discussions in Egyptology*, 29 (1994), pp. 105ff; Alexandre Piankoff, *Le 'Coeur' dans les textes Égyptiens depuis l'Ancien jusqu'à la fin du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1930).

57 Occasionally a god in baboon form is labelled Isdes. However, Isdes could simply be a form of Thoth and moreover usually occurs in the Roman Period; see Patrick Boylan, *Thoth: The*

Hermes of Egypt (London, 1922), p. 201; Claas Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leiden, 1973), p. 107; Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 558−61; Thoth and Isdes were both associated with judgement and the moon. Kings, the sun and Re were depicted as baboons; see John Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of The Solar Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions In The Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI And Ramesses IX. Orbis Biblicus Et Orientalis* (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 403–4, n. 6 (with references).

58 C. Manassa, 'The Judgement Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates', *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 57 (2006), p. 127.

59 C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 154; T. DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt I. Oxford Communications in Egyptology VI*. (Oxford, 2005), p. 465).

60 H. Willems, 'Anubis as a judge', in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems (eds), *Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur* (Leuven, 1998), pp. 719–43.

61 C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 101–4.

62 The birth brick metamorphosed into Ma'at on such scenes; see C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 83–5

63 A. Roth and C. H. Roehrig, 'Magical Bricks and Bricks of Birth', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 88 (2002), pp. 121–39.

64 C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengericht*s, pp. 86–8; Roth and Roehrig, 'Magical Bricks'.

65 G. Griffiths, 'Eight Funerary Paintings with Judgement Scenes in Swansea Wellcome Museum', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 68 (1982), 228–52. Another part of the shroud has recently been identified and is due to be published shortly.

66 Christina Riggs, 'Art and identity in the Egyptian funerary tradition, *c*.100 BC to ad 300' (unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford: Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University, 2001), p. 262.

67 For information on the nature and reasons for change in art during the Graeco-Roman Period, see Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 7–14.

68 For permanent and temporary inversion, cauldrons and other punishments in the Otherworld books see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books,* pp. 442, 446.

69 Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, pp. 27–9.

70 For the bull as Seth, see Harco Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 70 (Leuven, 1996), p. 97, n. 343 and Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, pp. 324–9. For the 'Cannibal Hymn', see Christopher Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn: A Cultural and Literary Study* (Liverpool, 2002).

71 Eltayeb Abbas, *The Lake of Knives and the Lake of Fire: Studies in the Topography of Passage in Ancient Egyptian Religious Literature* (Oxford, 2010). Osiris too may be shown emerging from 'the place of destruction'; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books,* p. 397.

72 For example, the Papyrus of Bakenmut, Cairo, illustrated in Alexandre Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II* (New York, 1957) 2 and the Cairo Papyrus of Nestanebtawy illustrated in Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, II12. In the case of Nestanebetawy the figures are headless.

73 Hartwig Altenmüller, 'Messersee, Gewunder Wasserlauf und Flamensee', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 92 (1966), pp. 86–95. Alltenmüller's further link to the Sea of Destruction of the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* is confirmed by H. Stewart, 'The Mythical

Sea of Knives', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 53 (1967), p. 104. The battle is described in *Coffin Text* 1054; *Book of the Dead* 126; and the *Book of Two Ways* 1054 and 1156.

74 Published in Flinders Petrie, *Funeral Furniture and Stone Vases* (London, 1937), p. 7. Wellcome Institute (WA/HMM/CM/Col/81) states that this was given by Petrie to Wellcome along with other Rifeh items in 1927. It had the Wellcome number 58316. As the shroud also appears in the 1937 Petrie volume of items at UCL, it seems the 1937 volume was compiled by Petrie, at least in part, prior to 1927.

75 For information on other *Book of the Dead* shrouds, see I. Munro, 'The evolution of the Book of the Dead', in Taylor, *Journey Through the Afterlife*, pp. 66–7. See also the British Museum shroud of Resti: Accession number EA73808, in S. Quirke et al., 'Reawakening Resti: Conservation of an Inscribed Shroud of the Eighteenth Dynasty', *Egyptian Archaeology, Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society*, 6 (1995), pp. 31–3.

76 M. Heerma van Voss, 'Een Dodendoek Als Dodenboek', *Phoenix* 20 (1974), 335–8.

77 A. Donohue, 'Pr-nfr', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 64 (1978), 143–8.

78 Ahmed M. Mekawy Ouda, 'Werethekau and the votive stela of PA-n-Imn (Bristol Museum H 514)', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*, 22 (2015), 61–86.

79 Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts'*, p. 138, fig. 50.

80 Thomas Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day. Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms* (Chicago, 1974), p. 102.

81 The term shabti is usually used for this type of funerary figure before the Third Intermediate Period and the term ushabti used for Third Intermediate Period examples.

82 For the meaning behind faience, see R. Bianchi, 'Symbols and meanings', in F. D. Friedman (ed.), *Gifts of the Nile. Ancient Egyptian Faience* (London, 1998), p. 25. For the deceased as illuminated, see Kockelmann, 'Sunshine for the Dead'.

83 K. Cooney, 'The fragmentation of the female: re-gendered funerary equipment as a means of rebirth', in C. Graves-Brown (ed.), *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: 'Don your Wig for a Joyful Hour'* (Swansea, 2008), pp. 1–25; K. Cooney, 'Where does the masculine begin and the feminine end? The merging of the two genders in Egyptian coffins during the Ramesside Period', in B. Heininger (ed.), *Ehrenmord und Emanzipation: Die Geschlechterfrage in Ritualen von Parallelgesellschaften, Geschlecht – Symbol – Religion* (Münster, 2009), pp. 99–124.

84 Smith *Following Osiris*, pp. 158–9, 213–15, 267.

85 Riggs, *Beautiful Burial*, pp. 43–4.

86 J. Taylor, 'The vulture headdress and other indications of gender on women's coffins of the 1st millennium BC', in A. Amenta and H. Guichard (eds), *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffin Conference, 12–22 June 2013*, vol. 2 (Vatican, 2017), pp. 541–56.

87 Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books,* p. 452 n. 7; Riggs, *Beautiful Burial*, pp. 34, 41–94; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, n. 27.

88 It was sold as one item of lot 145; see *Catalogue of Antiquities from Egypt. Being the Second Portion of the Sale of Robert de Rustafjaell. Sotheby. Wilkinson and Hodge 9–10th December 1907*. The item is illustrated on plate VIII of the catalogue.

89 Women wore skirts, which appeared kilt-like, but skirts were usually worn by labourers or dancers; see Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (Leiden, 1993), pp. 69–71.

90 Smith, *Following Osiris*, pp. 214–15.

91 T. DuQuesne, 'The Osiris-Re Connection with particular references to the Book of the Dead', in B. Backes, I, Munro, and S. Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beitrage Des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. Bis 29. September 2005 (Studien Zum Altaegyptischen Totenbuch)* (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 25–30.

92 For Khepri, see Martina Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri. Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeugnissen und ikonographischen Quellen vom Alten Reich bis in griechisch-römische Zeit, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 154 (Leuven, 2006).

93 William Frankland Hood visited Egypt several times between 1851 and 1861. These were kept by the family at Nettleham Hall, Lincolnshire after his death but sold at Sotheby's auction on 11 November 1924.

94 Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, pp. 152, 453–62.

95 Günther Lapp, *Die Vignetten zu Spruch 15 auf Totenpapyri des Neuen Reiches* (Basel, 2015), p. 5.

96 For depictions of the East and West offering, see Lapp, *Die Vignetten zu Spruch 15*, pp. 29–30. Lapp shows several other examples of the rising sun shown between symbols of the East and West.

97 Gardiner sign N28.

98 Accession number: EA229441: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=409410&objectid=117259 [Accessed June 2015].

99 For its occurrence in the *Book of the Dead*, see Lapp, *Die Vignetten zu Spruch* 15, p. 24. See this volume p. 77 for a late depiction of *Book of the Dead* 15, though one which also stresses the importance of the sun in the vignette. For more typical illustrations of Late Period versions, see J. Budek, 'Die Sonnenlaufszene. Untersuchungen zur Vignette 15 des Altägyptischen Totenbuches während der Spät- und Ptolemäerzeit', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37 (2008). In these Osiris raises up the sun-disk flanked by *ba*-birds.

100 Rune Nyord, *Breathing Flesh. Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen, 2009), p. 252.

101 Éva Liptay, *Coffins and Coffin Fragments of the Third Intermediate Period* (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2011). This Hathor cow motif has its roots in the Middle Kingdom with Coffin Text 486; Éva Liptay, 'Between Heaven and Earth II/1. The iconography of a 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyrus. (Inv. No. 51.2547)', *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 104 (2006), p. 19.

102 The New Kingdom tomb of Nefersecheru (TT 296) shows Osiris and the deity Nut embracing the sun-disk. The caption states that Re and Osiris are joined. For the latter see Lapp, *Die Vignetten zu Spruch* 15, p. 26, fig. 37.

103 For example, on the Eighteenth Dynasty *Book of the Dead* of Userhat (British Museum EA0009); see Taylor, *Journey Through the Afterlife,* p. 239, fig. 20. For more New Kingdom vignettes, see Lapp, *Die Vignetten zu Spruch 15*. Lapp shows two images of a sun-disk embracing a scarab (p. 48, fig. 78 and p. 91, fig. 131) from a coffin and a Ramesside stela respectively. Incidentally, he also shows an image of the Egypt Centre coffin fragment on page 5. For a *djed* pillar holding a sun-disk, see p. 74. The example Lapp illustrates is of the Twenty-first Dynasty (Chicago Field Museum 31759).

104 For these examples and other representations from the *Book of Caverns*, see Joshua Roberson, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth* (Wilbour Studies in Egypt and Ancient Western Asia: Atlanta, 2012).

105 http://thebanmappingproject.com/database/image.asp?ID=14622&NZ=1 [Accessed May 2015].

106 Colleen Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, Ägypten un altes Testament, 72 (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 39–41; Darnell, *Enigmatic Nether-world Books*, pp. 114–17.

107 Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester. Ein kosmographischer Begleittext aur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern* (Glückstadt, 1970), pp. 43–4, n. 4.

108 É. Liptay, 'Between Heaven and Earth II/1. The iconography of a 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyrus' (Inv. No. 51.2547)' (2006), p. 42–3. This builds upon the connections made by Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenprieste.* Budek sees the vignette of the *Book of the Dead* Spell 15 as being influenced by the *Book of Gates*; see Budek, 'Die Sonnenlaufszene', pp. 19–48.

109 Liptay, 'Between Heaven and Earth' p. 38.

110 The daily rising of the sun and its link with the *ba* of Osiris is also evident in scenes of the separation of heaven and earth, as described in this volume pp. 121–3.

111 For changes from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-first Dynasty, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Nether-world Books*, pp., 417–18. For an intermediate example on a papyrus, see Liptay, 'Between Heaven and Earth II/1. The iconography of a 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyrus'.

For examples on coffins, see Budapest 5096/1-2, in É. Liptay, 'Between Heaven and Earth. The Motif of the Cow coming out of the Mountain', *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts*, 99 (2003), pp. 54, 56–7, pl.11 (for the Hathor cow and mountain motif). The sun-disk with arms also appears on the coffin interior of Hennutawy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, illustrated in Erik Hornung, *Idea into Image*, trans. into English by Elizabeth Bredeck, (New York, 1992), p. 137. On another Twenty-first Dynasty coffin a clearly male god emerging from the *akhet* holds up the sun-disk, within which is the scarab; see A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri I* (New York: Bollingen, 1957), p. 26, fig. 8. See also Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 391–2, 402–5, 396 for Osiris lifting up the sun and holding his arms toward it.

For the motif of the sun-disk with arms on the Twenty-first Dynasty papyri, see Andrzej Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th centuries BC, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 86 (Freiberg, 1989), p. 140, figs 26a, 41 and 76; Liptay, 'Between Heaven and Earth', pp. 39–41, fig. 5. In the latter example the scarab is present.

112 C. Desroches-Noblecourt, 'Poissons, Tabous et Transformations du Mort. Nouvelles Considérations sur les Pélérinages aux Villes Saintes', *Kêmi*, 13 (1954), 33–42 and Shonkwiler, 'The Behdetite', p. 482, 494.

113 Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 253.

114 Louis Žakbar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 113.

115 Mummification could largely only be afforded by the elite. For more on mummification, see L. Troy, 'Creating a God: the Mummification Ritual', *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 4 (1993), 55–81; Salima Ikram and A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity* (London, 1998).

116 Anders Bettum, *Death as an Internal Process. A Case Study of a 21st Dynasty Coffin at the University Museum of Cultural Heritage in Oslo*, (2004), http://wo.uio.no/as/WebObjects/theses.woa/wa/these?WORKID=20317, pp. 36–9 [Accessed 25 June 2008]. For *sah* and *tut,* see Christina Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 2014), pp. 99–100.

117 For a recent summary of ideas concerning the *ka* see Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, pp. 13–15.

118 For additional information, see Žakbar, A study of the *Ba Concept*'; Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, pp. 3–7.

119 Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 101.

120 This text is preserved in Papyrus Berlin 3024, of the Twelfth Dynasty. For a translation, see Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Volume 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms (Los Angeles, 1975), pp. 163–9.

121 Ostracon IFAO 857; J. Borghouts 'Divine intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (bAw)', in R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Leiden, 1982), p. 22; Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, p. 5.
122 Elizabeth Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt* (Atlanta, 2007), p. 147.
123 *Coffin Text* Spell 149 is for turning the deceased into a human falcon to emerge from the *akhet*.
124 For parallels, see Brooklyn Museum 75.27; Burke Museum; Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum RC 1830. For the Burke Museum, see John Sarr, *Translation and Commentary on the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Late 21st Dynasty Egyptian Coffin and Lid in the Burke Museum*. https://www.academia.edu/2037446/Translation_and_Commentary_on_the_Hieroglyphic_Inscriptions_of_the_ Late_21st_Dynasty_Egyptian_Coffin_and_Lid_in_the_Burke_Museum (2003) [Accessed June 2016], p. 10. The Burke Museum example, British Museum EA24792 and Rosicrucian Museum have the same hieroglyphs as W1056.

For the *ba* going in and out of the *Duat*, see *Coffin Text* II 374 a-b; *Coffin Text* II 363 b; Žakbar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*, p. 99.
125 Žakbar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*, pp. 128–30.
126 Žakbar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*, pp. 38; O. Koefod Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils*, p. 25, pl. 47, no. 8 (ÆIN 1069) (Copenhagen, 1951.
127 For the winged sun-disk as the newborn sun and *ba*-bird, see Shonkwiler, 'The Behdetite', pp. 50–1, 53.
128 Žakbar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*, pp. 147–9.
129 For letters to the dead, see Edward Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990); S. Donnat *Contacts with the Dead in Pharaonic Egypt. Ritual Relationships and Dead Classification* (Strasbourg, unknown date); Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, pp. 34–7 (with references).
130 R. Finnestad, 'Enjoying the pleasures of sensation: reflections on a significant feature of Egyptian religion', in E. Teeter and J. A. Larson (eds), *Gold of Prise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 111–19.
131 For summaries of the evidence, see Lynn Meskell, *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt. Material Biographies Past and Present* (Oxford and New York, 2004), pp. 69–85 and Stephen Quirke, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2015), pp. 198–9.
132 The so called 'lit clos' of Deir el-Medina have sometimes been interpreted as platform altars; see L. Weiss, 'Personal Religious Practice: House Altars at Deir el-Medina', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 95 (2009), 193–208.
133 K. Griffin, 'An Akh ikr n rA stela from the collection of the Egypt Centre, Swansea', in T. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories, A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd On the Occasion of His Retirement* (Munster, 2007), pp. 137–47.
134 For more on the type, see Demarée, *The Ax iqr n Ra-Stelae*.
135 E. Wise, 'An "Odor of Sanctity": The Iconography, Magic, and Ritual of Egyptian Incense', *Studia Antiqua* 7/1 (2009), 67–70; Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, pp. 19–22.

6. Daemons on Coffins, the *Book of the Dead* and the Star-lit Sky

1 Tomb and coffin played their part in transfiguration, acting as substitutes for the body, a way of communicating with the dead and of ensuring that the deceased were effectively provided for. This might explain why during the Ramesside Period (1295–1069 BC) coffins were painted with black interiors and why the interiors of Third Intermediate Period (1069–945 BC) coffins were often decorated with stars and representations of Otherworld spirits. For the Egyptians,

transformation could only take place in a hidden space (p. 15). For the deceased, this space was the interior of the coffin. Very often the interior lid of the coffin was decorated with the body of Nut. On some coffins, the concept of going forth from the *Duat* is represented by the *ba*-bird rising from the horizon (as in Egypt Centre coffin fragment W1056, discussed in the section on the spirits of the dead, Chapter 5, fig. 42). In an ornamented coffin, the interior of the lid was decorated with Nut while the interior base had more Osirian iconography.

2 Their names were collected by Bernard Mathieu, in 'Les Enfants d'Horus, théologie et astronomie (Enquêtes dans les Textes des Pyramids, 1)', *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéene*, 1 (2008), pp. 7–14.

3 G. Wainwright, 'Letopolis', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 18 (1932), 163–4; G. Wainwright, 'The Origin of the Storm-Gods in Egypt', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 49 (1963), 13–20.

4 See *Pyramid Text* 1983. Additionally, four *akhw* daemons watch over Osiris in Papyrus Chester Beatty VI vs. 2, 5–9; see Joris Borghouts, *Ancient Magical Texts* (Leiden, 1978), p. 4.

5 For example, *Pyramid Texts* 2078 and 2079.

6 Christina Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 2014), p. 146.

7 Susanne Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis,* 134 (Fribourg, 1994), pp. 123–67.

8 For Imsety as occasionally female, see M. Heerma van Voss, 'Horuskinder', in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. III, (Wiesbaden, 1980), col. 53.

9 Gender anomalies are not unusual in Egyptian religion. For example, a Ptolemaic stela shows all four of the Sons as female; see J. Ray, 'A Pious Soldier: Stela Aswan 1057', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 73 (1987), p. 177.

10 John Taylor (ed.), *Journey Through the Afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 2010), pp. 65–6.

11 Alexandre Piankoff and E. Drioton, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit* (Cairo, 1942), p. 24; Thomas Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day. Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms* (Chicago, 1974), p. 29; Herman te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion. A Study of his Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion* (Leiden, 1977), p. 87. For the Sons aiding Isis in the sky, see Randy Shonkwiler, 'The Behdetite: a study of Horus the Behdedite from the Old Kingdom to the conquest of Alexander' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 2014), p. 433.

12 For the tomb of Ramesses VI, see Piankoff and Drioton, *Le Livre du Jour*, pp. 24, 95. For a temple example, see Sylvie Cauville, *Le Temple de Dendara: Les Chapelles Osiriennes: Transcription et Traduction. Bibliotheque d'Études*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1997); Sylvie Cauville, J. Hallof and H. van der Berg, *Dendara: Les Chapelles Osiriennes*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1997).

13 C. Graves-Brown, 'Flint and the Northern Sky', in T. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories. A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of His Retirement,* Alter Orient und Altes Testament Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments (Münster, 2008), pp. 111–37.

14 Piankoff and Drioton, *Le Livre du Jour.*

15 *Dendera X*, 259, 8; Cauville, *Le Temple de Dendara* I, 138–9; Cauville, Hallof and Berg, *Dendara* I, 259; Cauville, Hallof, and Berg, *Dendara*, II, pl. 115 and pl. 144.

16 Piankoff and Drioton, *Le Livre du Jour*, p. 24; Édouard Naville and S. Clarke, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* (London, 1895–1908), p. 114.

17 *Pyramid Texts* 1457, 1458, 1978; Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, II (Chicago, 1935), p. 147.

18 Joachim Quack, 'Dekane und Gliedervergottung. Altägyptische Traditionen im Apokryphon Johannis', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 38 (1995), p. 109; Rune Nyord, *Breathing Flesh. Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen, 2009), p. 517.

19 Harco Willems, *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden, 1988) and M. Raven, 'Egyptian Concepts on the Orientation of the Human Body', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 91 (2005), 37–53.

20 William Murnane, *United with Eternity: A Concise Guide to the Monuments of Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 1980), pp. 38–9.

21 Raven, 'Orientation of the Human Body', p. 43; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 516.

22 Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 517, following Raven, 'Orientation of the Human Body'.

23 Joachim Quack, 'Dekane und Gliedervergottung, 97–122. Note that one body part could be associated with several deities. *Coffin Text* 761 and *Book of the Dead* 42 list various gods with whom the body parts of the deceased were conflated. For the *Coffin Texts*, see Raymond Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Oxford, 1973), p. 293. For *Book of the Dead*, Spell 42, see Taylor (ed.), *Journey through the Afterlife*, p. 178.

24 The funerary mask is concerned with concealing and making the deceased god-like as well as unifying the different body parts: Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, pp. 157–9, 520–1; Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt*, p. 170. The golden colour divinised and solarised the deceased. Such masks were used as late as the first century ad. In later periods, the headless, solarised Osiris is associated with the mummy mask (see this volume p. 97).

25 *Catalogue of Antiquities* (Sotheby and Co., 1928), pp. 12–13. According to electoral registers, Charles James Tabor (1849–1928) was born in London and later lived in Leyton in Essex. He worked as a game (poultry) salesman and was heavily involved with the Folklore Society.

26 For bead nets, see F. Silvano, 'Le reticelle funerarie nell'Antico Egitto: proposte di interpretazione', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 3 (1980), 83–97 and C-B. Arnst, 'Vernetzung. Zur Symbolik des Mumiennetzes', in Martin Fitzenreiter and Christian E. Loeben (eds), *Die ägyptische Mumie ein Phänomen der Kulturgeschichte, Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie*, 1 (1998), pp. 79–94. Faience beaded funerary garments are known as early as the Old Kingdom. A criss-cross pattern reminiscent of bead netting often decorates funerary items, including the *ba*-birds (see p. 95–7, fig. 41). Depiction of clap-nets used to catch birds are usually believed to symbolise containment of disorder. This may have been related to the symbolism of the bead net, the aim being to keep disorder from the mummy but allow the justified deceased to pass through. Funerary texts tend to associate nets with negative aspects. For example, *Coffin Texts* 343 and 474 are spells to stop the deceased being caught in nets.

27 For more on this sale, see p. 125, n. 92.

28 One of the epithets of the gods Ptah and Osiris was *nefer her* (nfr Hr), often translated as 'beautiful of face'. However, *nefer* also had connotations of newness and rebirth. *Nefer* is associated with green, the colour of the Nile Valley after the revitalising Inundation. The deity Tatenen, who is associated with vegetation, is shown green, but he is linked with Ptah. For *nfr*, see A. Donohue, 'Pr-nfr', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 64 (1978), 143–8. For the solar significance of the bead faces, see Arnst, 'Vernetzung. Zur Symbolik des Mumiennetzes', p. 88.

29 For *Book of the Dead* spells on bandages, see H. Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden* (Wiesbaden, 2008); Irmtraut Munro, 'The Evolution of the Book of the Dead', in Taylor, *Journey Through the Afterlife*, pp. 78–9.

30 Information kindly supplied by the Totenbuch-Projekt.

31 Alexandra von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna: Eine Fallstudie zur religiösen Astronomie in Ägypten am Biespiel der kosmologischen Decken- und Archatravinschriften im Tempel von*

Esna, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 64 (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 16–17, 27–8, 46–50. For more information on decans as daemons, see László Kákosy, 'Decans in Late-Egyptian Religion', *Oikumene*, 3 (1982), 163–91.

32 Rita Lucarelli, 'The Inhabitants of the Fourteenth Hill of Spell 149 of the Book of the Dead', in L. D. Morenz and A. El Hawary (eds), *Weitergabe: Festschrift für Ägyptologin Ursula Rößler-Köhler zum 65. Geburtstag, Gottinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Agypten* (Wiesbaden, 2015), 275–91.

33 Rita Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen. Ancient Egyptian Funerary Religion in the 10th Century BC* (Leiden, 2006), p. 173.

34 Henk Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet* (Leiden, 1991), p. 115.

35 For example, Milde, *Vignettes*, p. 116.

36 Milde, *Vignettes*, p. 121.

37 For example, Eighteenth Dynasty British Museum EA10477/28, 29 and 30; Carol Andrews and R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 1972) pp. 140–1; Günther Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu. Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum* (London, 1997), plates 83–6.

38 There is a comparable scene on the Leiden coffin of Amenhotep. On the Papyrus of Nesipakashuty (Louvre E. 17401), the ichneumon, a male figure, carries knives or snakes and stands beside the scales; see Christine Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (München, 1976), p. 97, fig. 33. The figure is in the same position on the Papyrus of Nisititanebetaui (Cairo JE40017), the Papyrus of Tawadjetre (Cairo 34033) and the Papyrus of Khonsumes (Kunsthistorisches Museum 3859); see Alexandre Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II* (New York: Bollingen, 1957), p. 104, n. 3. Cairo 34033 is also published in Karl Jansen-Winkeln, 'Bemerkungen zu den Frauenbiographien der Spätzeit,' in M. Novák, J. Hazenbos, C. Mittermayer and C. E. Suter, (eds), *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 31/2 (2004), pp. 358–73. On Papyrus Cairo 40014 and coffin Cairo 6008, this figure is part of the procession to Osiris; Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 97–8, pl. 29. She Who Embraces and the ichneumon occasionally appear together, for example in Papyrus Cairo 40014; see Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pl. 29. Swart sees the ichneumon and the male figure as being almost interchangeable; see Lisa Swart, 'Aspects of the iconography of the goddess, hpt.t.Hr' (unpublished paper presented at ARCE conference, 2008).

39 For example, a male feline deity stands by the scales with face turned toward the deceased on the Twenty-first Dynasty coffin of Tanakhtnettahat in the Charlotte Licherie Collection of Egyptian Art (1999.1.17 A-C, Michael C. Carlos Museum). He leads the deceased toward the enthroned Osiris. He is not holding snakes. A male cat-headed figure leads the deceased away from the scales on the Cleveland Museum coffin of Bakenmut; see Lawrence Berman, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art. The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 1999), pp. 318–9. As this cat is near the scales, he possibly represents one of the cat-headed gods of the judgement of the deceased. On the Late Period Papyrus of Herytwebkht (sometimes called Heruben) a cat-headed male god with tail guides the deceased; see Cairo Museum 10254; Alexandre Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II*; Beatrice Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period. The Twenty-first Dynasty* (The Hague, Paris and New York, 1979), p. 165, fig. 112. Here he is called 'Porter in the Place of Truth' and carries a whip and again turns his head toward the deceased. The outer coffin of Neskhons (Cairo CG61030) shows a male deity wearing a kilt with a bull's tail. He has two heads, one of a lion and one of a crocodile. He is called 'That Porter in the West' (http://www.flickr.com/photos/horemachet/526593907/in/set-72157594417096378/ [Accessed July 2008]; G. Daressy, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités*

Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, 61001–61044, *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales* (Cairo, 1909), 61030, p. 118ff, pl. 44. On the Twenty-first Dynasty coffin of Anchefenmut (Cairo JE29692) a male cat deity with a bull's tail leads the deceased (http://www.flickr.com/photos/horemachet/sets/72157600278781114/detail/ [Accessed July 2008]; he is called 'Great God who is in the *Duat*'.

40 Jacques Vandier, 'Quadjet et l'Horus léontocéphale de Bouto', *Monuments et Memoires, Fondation Eugène Piot*, 55 (1967), pp. 17–21. There are several other examples of feline-headed male deities, for example Havard College copper alloy statue 1943.1121.B of Horus the Behdedite and Cincinnati Art Museum 1957.149.

41 Lisa Swart has however researched this figure; see Swart, 'Aspects of the iconography of the goddess, hpt.t.Hr'. I am grateful to Lisa for allowing me access to her paper. See also Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 67; Matthieu Heerma van Voss, 'Zur Göttin Hepethor', in U. Luft, *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday* (Budapest, 1992), p. 266.

42 Randy Shonkwiler, 'The Behdetite: a study of Horus the Behdedite from the Old Kingdom to the conquest of Alexander', p. 53, n. 265.

43 Henri Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), p. 28.

44 Colleen Manassa, 'The Judgement Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates', *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 57 (2006), p. 116, n. 53; C. Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period, Ägypten und altes Testament*, 72 (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 148–9, 460; C. Manassa, 'Divine Taxonomy in the Underworld Books', in S. Bickel, D. Frankfurter, S. I. Johnston, J. Mylonopoulos, J. Rüpke, J. Scheid and Z. Várhelyi, *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, 14 (2013), 47–68. The appearance of Ammut is therefore unsurprising.

45 Manassa, 'Judgement Hall', pp. 116, n. 53, 129⁻30, 148–9, 460.

46 The *sema* ('joining') sign is beneath the snake, in the centre of the mound of Osiris. It consists of two lungs attached to a trachea and is usually said to symbolise the union of Upper and Lower Egypt. It appears on royal thrones from the Fourth Dynasty. *Sema*, in another form, also means internment, as in *Book of the Dead*, 17; see Hans Goedicke, 'ZmA-TAwy', in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* (Cairo, 1985), p. 316. The sign in conjunction with the mound is known from the Twenty-first Dynasty Papyrus of Padiamun (Cairo SR VII 10654; Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II,* no. 2, plate 10), and from the Papyrus of Khonsu-Renep (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II*, vol. 2, p. 119, fig. 44, plate 11). As a sign of unification it reinforces the Solar-Osirian unification necessary for rebirth.

47 On the Cairo coffin JE29662, the solar rebirth aspect is particularly explicit, with the solar boat and winged Eye of Re/Horus present, along with She who Embraces; see Dana Reemes, 'The Egyptian Ouroboros: An Iconological and Theological Study' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2015), fig. 78.

48 For leading the deceased, see Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 119–20. For standing behind the deceased, see, for example, MCCM 1991.1.17a-d, the coffin of Lady Tahat, in the Michael C. Carlos Emory Museum.

49 Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 119, pl. 22.

50 Catherine Graindorge, 'Les Oignons de Sokar', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 43 (1992), pp. 87–105.

51 For example, Andrzej Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th centuries BC, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 86 (Freiberg, 1989), fig. 3; Gertie Englund, 'Propos sur l'iconographie d'un sarcophage de la 21e dynastie', *Boreas* 6 (1974), fig.4.

52 British Museum EA10554; Ernest Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum. The Funerary Papyrus of Princess Nesitanebtashru, Daughter of Painetchem II and Nes-Khensu,*

and Priestess of Amen-Ra at Thebes, about BC 970 (London, 1912), pl. 58. She has the same title on the Papyrus of Padiamun (Cairo SR VII 10654), that is, 'She who embraces the *Duat*': Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II*, p. 104, n. 2, pl., 10.

53 Lisa Swart, 'Aspects of the iconography of the goddess, hpt.t.Hr'. See also Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 119–20, for this deity.

54 Cairo JE40017, The Papyrus of Nisititanebetaui; Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II*, p. 102, pl. 8; Victoria Museum Uppsala, 228, Englund, 'Propos sur l'iconographie d'un sarcophage', p. 46.

55 Accession number E1.1822. The transliteration of the titles read: *Hnwt imnt.t irt Ra HqAt tAwi nbt nrw m Xrt-nTr StAt xprw xntit dAt wrt irw r gs mxAt hrw sjp Hatiw*; Ernest Budge, *A Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1893), pp. 45–6; Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 119.

56 Bodleian Skrine Papyrus no. 2.

57 Aylward Blackman, 'The Funerary Papyrus of Nespeḥer'an (Pap. Skrine, No. 2)', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 5/1 (1918), p. 31; Swart, 'Aspects of the iconography of the goddess, hpt.t.Hr'.

58 For curse formulae, see Katarina Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings: Conceptual Background and Transmission* (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 60–1. For crocodiles as protectors, see p. 42.

59 For the white crown, see Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pl. 29. For the *atef*, see the Papyrus of Khonsu-Renep in Cairo (SR VII 11501), Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II*, pl. 11

60 For possible reasons for depicting deities holding knives with their feet, see this volume p. 33.

61 Snakes and knives are closely connected in Egyptian mythology; see Carolyn Graves-Brown, 'The Ideology of Flint in Dynastic Egypt' (unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 2011). Available online at: http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1306709/.

62 Accession number: British Museum EA10002/3.

63 José Lull, 'A Scene from the Book of the Dead Belonging to a Private Twenty-first Dynasty Tomb in Tanis', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 87 (2001), 185–6. Examples include the Twenty-first Dynasty tomb of anx.f-n-Jmnw; the Twenty-first Dynasty Greenfield Papyrus, British Museum EA 10554 (see Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*) and Lull, 'A Scene from the Book of the Dead', fig. 3; Twenty-second Dynasty tomb of Osorkon at Tanis; Pierre Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis I: Les constructions et le tombeau de Osorkon II à Tanis* (Paris, 1947), pl. xxiv; Lull, 'A Scene from the Book of the Dead', fig. 2.

64 Swart, 'Aspects of the iconography of the goddess, hpt.t.Hr', gives several examples.

65 For the *Litany of Re* manuscripts, see Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, p. 95. See also the Twenty-first Dynasty Papyrus of Khonsu-Renep in Cairo (SR VII 11501); Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II*, plate 11.

66 Darnell sees this figure as one who provisions. John C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books Of The Solar Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions In The Tombs Of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI And Ramesses IX, Orbis Biblicus Et Orientalis* (Göttingen, 2004, p. 314.

67 Heerma van Voss, 'Zur Göttin Hepethor'.

68 Egyptian Museum accession number, Papyrus SVRVII 10238.

69 Bibliothèque Nationale Papyrus 171, Alexandre Piankoff, *The Funerary Papyrus of Tent-Amon* (New York, 1936), pp. 60–1. The figures following the snake-headed deity do not seem to be palm bearers as Piankoff suggests, but rather four torch bearers associated with the cardinal points of the sky and the Four Sons of Horus. The ritual of the Four Torch Bearers was

associated with reviving the deceased through sunlight and possibly concerned the Twelfth Hour of the Night in which Seth is slain and Osiris protected. The ritual occurs in *Book of the Dead* 137 where the gateway to the dwelling of Osiris is mentioned. The ritual was performed in the tomb. Thus, one can see a loose connection with Solar-Osirian unification as well as a link with doorways and revival in the Duat/tomb; see S. Ilieva, 'The Ritual of the Four Torches and Four Bricks According to BD 137A from Papyrus of Nu', *Journal of Egyptian Studies*, IV (2015), pp. 98–125; Daniela Luft, *Das Anzünden der Fackel: Untersuchungen zu Spruch 137 des Totenbuches* SAT 15 (Wiesbaden, 2009).

70 Perhaps artists found it difficult to illustrate a mound within the coils of a serpent and still show the mound interior. They therefore reduced the coils to two loops.

71 Lull, 'A Scene from the Book of the Dead', p. 182. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 323, n. 217; David Klotz, 'The Lecherous Pseudo-Anubis of Josephus and the "Tomb of 1897" at Akhmim', in A. Gasse, F. Servajean and C. Thiers (eds), *Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum. Recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier* (Montpellier, 2012), p. 333.

72 Some scholars do not see Apep as a daemon, but rather as a manifestation of evil; see Rita Lucarelli, 'Demonology during the Late Pharaonic and Greco-Roman Periods in Egypt', J*ournal of the Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, 11 (2011), p. 114. For the Nehaher, see H. te Velde, 'Some egyptian deities and their piggishness', in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, Studia Aegyptiaca, 14 (Budapest, 1992), pp. 571–8 and Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 302–3.

73 Martina Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri. Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeugnissen und ikonographischen Quellen vom Alten Reich bis in griechisch-römische Zeit, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 154 (Leuven, 2006), pp. 218–19.

74 C. Eyre, 'Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgement of the Dead. Some Mythological Allusions in Egyptian Literature', *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*, 4 (1976), 103–14.

75 For example, see Berman, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, pp. 318–19; Lull, 'A Scene from the Book of the Dead', pp. 184–5.

76 Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 167.

77 British Museum, EA10473/2.

78 Eyre, 'Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgement of the Dead', p. 109. Seeber has shown how, in *Book of the Dead* papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, the hippopotamus is reconstituted as Ammut; see *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 175–9.

79 Cairo Museum, JE62012.

80 Accession number Brussels E.5884; for examples, see Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 170.

81 Velde, 'Some Egyptian deities and their piggishness', pp. 571–8. For more information on Shai see Jan Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 2. (Leuven, 1975).

82 A. Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty religious iconography project exemplified by the scene with three deities standing on a serpent', in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten München. Akten des Vierten International Ägyptologen Kongress, München 1985, Studien zur altägyptische Kultur*, 3 (1988), 309–13; Anders Bettum, *Death as an Internal Process. A Case Study of a 21st Dynasty Coffin at the University Museum of Cultural Heritage in Oslo* (2004), http://wo.uio.no/as/WebObjects/theses.woa/wa/these?WORKID=20317, pp. 36–9 [Accessed 25 June 2008], pp. 95–6.

83 Niwiński, 'The 21st dynasty religious iconography project'.

84 Victoria Museum, Uppsala, 228; Englund, 'Propos sur l'iconographie d'un sarcophage', fig. 5.

85 Englund, ‘Propos sur l’iconographie d’un sarcophage’, p. 48; Niwiński, ‘The 21st Dynasty religious iconography project’, p. 312.

86 É. Liptay. ‘Between Heaven and Earth, II/1. The Iconography of a 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyrus (Inv. No. 51.2547)’, *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts*, 104 (2006), p. 47.

87 For secrecy and its importance in divinity and regeneration, see Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt*, pp. 163–80.

88 Englund, ‘Propos sur l’iconographie d’un sarcophage’. The deceased is also reborn from within the coils of the serpent; see Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 122, 310.

89 Niwiński, ‘The 21st Dynasty religious iconography project’ and Liptay. ‘Between Heaven and Earth’, 47–50.

For the snake as a symbol of resurrection and protection see, for example, Saphinaz Amal Naguib, ‘Gammel-egyptisk trekiste og livet etter døden’, *Antropologinytt*, 4/3 (1982), p. 30, cited in Bettum, *Death as an Internal Process*, p. 96, n. 282; Englund, ‘Propos sur l’iconographie d’un sarcophage’.

90 Niwiński, ‘The 21st Dynasty religious iconography project’, fig. 2c.

91 Cairo 10254; Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II.*

92 Niwiński, ‘The 21st Dynasty religious iconography project’, p. 312.

93 While Nut is present in temples, perhaps even in the Sphinx sanctuaries at Giza, evidence for cultic attention is not apparent until the Graeco-Roman Period, when there are cult statues of her and evidence for a ‘Mansion of Nut’; see Nils Billing, *Nut, the Goddess of Life: In text and Iconography* (Uppsala, 2002), p. 3.

94 Roth sees the concept of mother sky and father earth as due to the annual inundation of the Nile, where the primary fertilisation of the earth does not come from the sky; see A. Roth, ‘The representation of the divine in ancient Egypt’, in G. Beckman and T. J. Lewis (eds), *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion* (Providence, 2006), pp. 24–37.

95 Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, p. 39.

96 Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I*, vol. I, p. 83; vol. II pl. 84.

97 For example, a coffin from the Rijksmuseurn van Oudheden, Leiden (RMO F93/10.1a); Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri I*, fig. 30.

98 Such as the Papyrus of Nesitanebetaui (Cairo JE 40017); Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri I*, fig. 30 and II, pl. 8.

99 T. Bács, ‘Amun-Re-Harakhti in the late Ramesside royal tombs’ in Ulrich Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, pp. 43–53. Ram-headed deities also assist on Budapest 87.4.E; see Éva Liptay, *Coffins and Coffin Fragments of the Third Intermediate Period* (Budapest, 2011), p. 69, pl. 17; in the British Museum Greenfield Papyrus (EA10554) and in Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, pl. 56; they also occur on E1.1822 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, where they are called ‘This great god in heaven’ and ‘This great god in the *Duat*’; see Budge, *A Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, p. 49.

Rams were associated with several gods and, in the Theban area, particularly with the nocturnal Amun; see A. Niwiński, ‘The Solar-Osirian unity as a principle of the theology of the “State of Amun” in Thebes Dynasty 21’, *Jaarbericht van het vooraziat-egyptische Genootschap*, 30 (1987–88), p. 104. The Ram of Mendes is the *ba* spirit of Osiris and the solar ram is associated with crossing the Otherworld at night; see K. Eaton, ‘The Festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Month of Khoiak’, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 35 (2006), p. 87. Rams generally represent fertility. That the ram is a metaphor for the *ba*-soul probably derives from the Egyptian for *ba* soul being the same word as ram, i.e. *bA*. That these are indeed intended as soul birds here is reinforced by the addition of the *ba*-bird; two of these *ba*-birds (those beneath the arms of the kilted ram-headed figures and shown with arms in front of them in a gesture of

worship) have rams' horns. Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II*, p. 49 explain that *ba*-birds are the soul birds of the solar deity; however, E1.1822 in the Fitzwilliam depicts conventional *ba*-birds without horns, there called 'the living soul of Osiris' (Budge, *A Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum,* p. 49). Part ram, part bird figures support Nut on other Twenty-first Dynasty coffins, for example on the coffin of Pameshem, Cairo 6008, published in Goff, *Symbols*, p. 249, fig. 141. Liptay, *Coffins and Coffin Fragments*, p. 66, believes the combination of ram and *ba*-bird invoke Chapter 85 of the *Book of the Dead*, where ram and bird appear alternately on vignettes.

100 See n. 109. For further examples of the raising of the sun in connection with the separation of heaven and earth, see Günther Lapp, *Die Vignetten zu Spruch 15 auf Totenpapyri des Neuen Reiches* (Basel, 2015), p. 46.

101 The authority on Heka is Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1997), p. 21.

102 For Heka as a deity, see Ritner, *Mechanics*, pp. 15–16.

103 For Heka on the mound, see Bettum, *Death as an Internal Process*, p. 98; Coffin of Padiamun, Cairo CG6233-6235; Liptay, É., 'Heka as the hypostasis of the sungod in the 21st Dynasty', in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented by László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th birthday*, Studia Aegyptica, 14 (Budapest, 1992), p. 389. For the link with Osiris see, for example, the Papyrus of Khonsu-Renep in Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri II*, pp. 119–20.

104 H. te Velde, 'The God Heka in Egyptian Theology', *Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux*, 21 (1970), 83.

105 H. te Velde, 'The God Heka in Egyptian Theology', p. 184.

106 É. Liptay, 'Heka as the hypostasis of the sungod', p. 390.

107 Fitzwilliam Museum E1.1822: Budge, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, pp. 16–17; Ernest Budge, *The Mummy. A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1925) p. 373; Liptay, 'Heka as the hypostasis of the sungod', p. 390.

108 Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 373; cited in Liptay, 'Heka as the hypostasis of the sungod', p. 390.

109 Budge, *Greenfield Papyrus*, pl. 106 and 108.

110 W. Westendorf, 'Die geteilte Himmelsgöttin', in I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck (eds), *Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 341–57.

111 For Heka and Shu as the first born of Atum, see H. te Velde, 'The God Heka in Egyptian Theology', p. 176. For Heka connected to creation and revival see Liptay, 'Heka as the hypostasis of the sungod.'

112 For example, L. Kákosy, 'Ouroboros on Magical Healing Statues', in T. Du Quesne (ed.), *Hermes Aegyptiacus. Egyptological Studies for BH Stricker on his 85th Birthday* (Oxford: Discussions in Egyptology, special no. 2, 1995), p. 123.

113 Dana Reemes, 'The Egyptian Ouroboros'.

114 J. Taylor, 'Theban coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and synthesis of development', in N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis Past, Present and Future* (London, 2003), p. 116.

115 For example, British Museum EA22940 and Fitzwilliam Museum 99.97.0440 and 99.97.0508

116 Nineteenth Dynasty examples include the coffin of Khonsu from Deir el-Medina in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (86.1.1.2). See also Bettum, *Death as an Internal Process*, pp. 45–6. Twenty-first Dynasty examples include the coffin of Aba, Son of Ankh Hor, in the Bibliotheca Alexandrina 0829; a coffin of a priest of Montu, British Museum EA22940; or indeed on the Egypt Centre's EC284.

117 Hahaet, Priest of Montu (CG41042–41072); see Reemes, 'The Egyptian Ouroboros', p. 377, fig. 87; Tasheritaset, Priestess of Montu (CG41042–41072); Reemes, 'Ouroboros', p. 378, fig. 88.

Others are illustrated in Reemes, 'Ouroboros', figs 83–6.

118 Reemes, 'Ouroboros', pp. 46, 71.

119 Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 121–2, 310.

120 Reemes, 'Ouroboros' p. 63.

121 Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, 327.

122 See Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion* (Oxford, 2005), fig. 87. On Graeco-Roman coffins the four winds represent the four cardinal points; see Riggs, *Beautiful Burial*, figs. 87 and 88. Chelidona's coffin in the Louvre shows the four winds (Roman Period) portrayed as composite winged animals in the corners on either side of the areas set aside for the inscriptions. The north wind is a four-headed ram; the south wind has a ram's head on a lion's body; the east wind has two heads – one a ram, the other a hippopotamus – on a scarab's body; and finally, the west wind has a ram's head on a falcon's body.

7. 'Quasi-Daemons'

1 Lynne Meskell, *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt. Material Biographies Past and Present* (Oxford and New York, 2004), p.89.

2 Beate Pongratz-Leisten and K. Sonik, 'Between cognition and culture: theorizing the materiality of divine agency in cross-cultural perspective', in B. Pongratz-Leisten and K. Sonik (eds), *The Materiality of Divine Agency* (Boston and Berlin, 2015), pp. 3–69.

3 Whitney Davis, 'Artisans and Patrons in Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 10 (1983), 132–3.

4 Violine Chauvet, 'Who did what and why: the dynamics of tomb preparation', in R. Jasnow and K. Cooney (eds) *Joyful in Thebes. Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan* (Atlanta, 2015), pp. 63–78.

5 Carolyn Routledge, 'Ancient Egyptian ritual practice: Ir-xt and nt-a' (unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto, Toronto, 2001).

6 A term coined by Junker; see Hermann Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae* (Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 54: Vienna, 1910). For an overview of attempts to explain the agency of artefacts in archaeology see Meskell, *Object Worlds.*

7 R. Ritner, 'An eternal curse upon the reader of these lines', in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic* (Leuven, 2011), pp. 5–7.

8 For *nsy*, see Nicola Harrington, *Living with the Dead. Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford and Oakville, 2013), p. 26.

9 Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicagoo, 1997), p. 8.

10 D. Lorton, 'The theology of cult statues in Ancient Egypt', in M. B. Dick (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, 1999), pp. 123–201.

11 For animal mummies, see D. Kessler and A. Nur el-Din, 'Tuna el-Gebel: millions of ibises and other animals', in S. Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2005), pp. 120–63.

12 J. Spiegel, 'Die Grunbeteutung des Stammes Hm', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterumskunde*, 75 (1939), 112–21.

13 J. Quack, 'How unapproachable is a pharaoh?' in G. B. Lanfranchi and R. Rollinger (eds), *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity. Proceedings of the European Science Foundation exploratory Workshop held in Padova, November 28th–December 1st, 2007*, History of the Ancient Near East Monographs XI (Padua, 2010), p. 6.

14 As Hornung claims; see Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many, trans. John Baines* (Ithaca, 1982), p. 135. For Assmann's discussion of the statue as the god's body, see Jan Assmann, The Search for God in Ancient Egypt, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca, 2001), p. 46.

15 For minerals and deities, see Sydney Aufrère, *L'Univers Minéral dans la Pensée Égyptienne*, 2 vols, IFAO: Bibliothèque d' Étude 105.1 and 105.2 (Cairo, 1991).

16 For emergent divine properties in minerals at Thebes, see C. Graves-Brown, 'Emergent flints', in K. Szpakowska (ed.), *Through a Glass Darkly. Magic, Dreams and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, 2006), pp. 47–62. The inherent material qualities and biographies of particular substances made them particularly prone to divine association; see Carolyn Graves-Brown, 'The ideology of flint in Dynastic Egypt' (unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 2011). Available online at: http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1306709/; C. Graves-Brown, 'Luster, Flint and Arsenical Copper in Dynastic Egypt', *Journal of Lithic Technology*, 38.3. (2013), 150–60.

17 C. Leitz, 'Deities and demons: Egypt', in S. I. Johnston (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World: a Guide* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 2004), p. 395.

18 The dead king Ramesses II is called a 'Great God' on a stela of Ramesses IV at Abydos: J. 48876 Hieroglyphic text in KRI VI, 17-20; translated in James Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt, vol. IV, The Twentieth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (Chicago, 1906), section 471.

19 L. Bell, 'Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal *Ka*', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 44 (1985), 251–94; Lanny Bell, 'Le Cult du ka royal', *Dossiers Histoires et Archéologie*, 101 (1986), 57–9.

20 For *Hm* as 'incarnation', see P. J. Brand, 'A grafitto of Amen-Re in Luxor temple', in G. N. Knoppers and A. Hurst (eds), *Egypt, Israel and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 265 n. 40. But see also Quack, 'How unapproachable is a pharaoh?'

21 D. Silverman, 'The nature of Egyptian kingship', in D. B. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 64–5.

22 Ben Haring, *Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*, Egyptologische Uitgaven, 13 (Leiden, 1997), p. 394.

23 Probably lot 57 or 58.

24 Bertha Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings*, II. Theban Temples (Oxford, 1972), pp. 426–9.

25 Pierre Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, I (Cairo, 1977), p. 80 and II, pl. iv. 290.

26 P. Laskowski, 'Monumental architecture and the royal building program of Thutmose III', in E. Cline and D. O'Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), p. 185.

27 For ideas on queenship and divinity, see Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala, 1986). Troy sees the queen not so much as divine but as representing divine mythology.

28 Mariam F. Ayad, G*od's Wife, God's Servant. The God's Wife of Amun* (*c*.740–525 BC), (London and New York, 2009).

29 There was no single word for priest and most were part-time; see Stephen Quirke, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2015), pp. 92–4, for a brief overview of priests which emphasises the danger of imposing our ideas of priests upon the past. 'Delegation' may be the wrong word; see John Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2006), p. 23, but also Katherine Eaton, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual. Performance, Pattern and Practice* (New York and London, 2013), pp. 28–9. Priestly functions also included carrying out building work; see Harold M. Hays, 'Between identity and agency in ancient Egyptian ritual', in Rune Nyord and Annette Kjølby (eds), *Being in Ancient Egypt: Thoughts on Agency, Materiality and Cognition: Proceedings of the Seminar held in Copenhagen, September 29–30, 2006* 7 (Oxford: BAR International Series 2019, 2009), pp. 15–30.
30 For an introduction to priests, see Serge Sauneron, *Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1960).
31 Eaton, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual*, p. 30.
32 D. B. Redford, 'The concept of kingship', in D. B. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (London and New York, 1995), p. 164. See also Christina Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 2014), pp. 166–7, who explains that initiation allowed priests to see the secrets of the gods. See also Quirke, *Exploring Religion*, p. 96.
33 Lesley Kinney, *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom*, BAR International Series, 1809, (Oxford, 2008), pp. 37–9.
34 Eleanor Simmance, 'Amenhotep son of Hapu: self-presentation through statues and their texts in pursuit of semi-divine intermediary status' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, 2014).
35 J. Borghouts, 'Divine intervention in ancient Egypt and its manifestation (bAw)', in R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Leiden, 1982), p. 15.
36 A list of Amenhotep's coffin fragment pieces in museums throughout the world can be found in Alexandre Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (IFAO Cairo, 1968).
37 WB2:443/27-31
38 Ritner, *Mechanics*, p. 207, n. 956; pp. 229–230. See also Dorothea Arnold, 'Egyptian art – a performing art?', in S. D' Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), pp. 5–6 for Old Kingdom fording scenes and their associations with Hathor.
39 James Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898), pl. 2; Stephen Quirke, *Birth Tusks: The Armoury of Health in Context – Egypt 1800 BC* (London, 2016), p. 102.
40 Sara Demichelis, 'La divination par l'huile à l'époque ramesside', in Y. Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: À la recherche d'une définition; Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000* (Paris, 2002), pp. 149–165.
41 H. Goedicke, 'The Story of the Herdsman', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 45/90 (1970), 252.
42 Doris Karl, 'Funktion und Bedeutung einer "weisen Frau" im alten Ägypten', *Studien zur Altägyptische Kultur*, 28 (2000), 131–60.
43 Jaana Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina. A Study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants at the Workmen's Community During the Ramesside Period* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 228–31.
44 Karl, 'Funktion und Bedeutung einer "weisen Frau"', p. 132.
45 Demichelis, 'La divination'.
46 For the adolescent royal daughter as a ritualist, see Georgia Xekalaki, 'Symbolism in the representation of royal children in the New Kingdom' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 2007); G. Xekalaki, 'The procession of royal daughters in Medinet Habu and their

ritualistic role: origins and evolution', in J-C. Goyon and C. Cardin (eds), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists. Grenoble, 6–12 septembre 2004.* II (Paris and Dudley MA, 2007), 1961–5. For the *Return of the Distant One* and royal children, see David O'Connor, 'The king's palace at Malkata and the purpose of the royal harem', in Z. Hawass and J. H. Wegner (eds), *Millions of Jubilees. Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, Vol. 2. (Cairo, 2010), pp. 55–80.

47 C. Graves-Brown, 'Hathor, Nefer and daughterhood in New Kingdom private tombs', in H. Navratilova and R. Landgráfová (eds), *Sex and the Golden Goddess. World of the Love Songs II* (Prague, 2015), pp. 15–33.

48 See Clement Harris, 'On the Divine Origin of Musical Instruments in Myths and Scriptures', *Musical Quarterly*, 8/ 1 (January 1922), 69–75. In pre-Islamic Arabia music was said to be revealed to musicians by jinn. Sufis believe music to be a way of reaching God, etc.

49 Emily Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 70–2.

50 C. Graves-Brown, 'A gazelle, a lute player and Bes: three ring bezels from Amarna', in A. Dodson, J. J. Johnston and W. Monkhouse (eds), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: studies in honour of W.J. Tait* (London, 2014), pp. 113–26. Here a female lutist is shown to be connected with Hathor, the solar, birth and rebirth. Her liminality is not only shown through her music, but also through her apparent nudity, probably emphasising her youth. Her perfume cone shows divine offering.

51 Kinney, *Dance, Dancers*, 37–9.

52 Veronique Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (New York: OUP, 1993), p. 133.

53 Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, pp.150–3.

54 Kinney, *Dance, Dancers*, p. 37–9; L. V. Žakbar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (Chicago, 1968) p. 133.

55 F. Daumas, 'Les propylées du temple d'Hathor à Philae et le culte de la déesse', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterumskunde*, 95 (1968), 1–17.

56 Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 25–33. The Egyptians used three different words for abnormally short people: *dng, nmw* and *Hwa*.

57 This may explain why dwarves were often given charge of animals in elite households. Animals held a special position in ancient Egypt in being considered 'uncanny' and with special powers. Dwarves/pygmies were particularly associated with apes and monkeys and they are shown in similar postures; see K. Kóthay, 'A Dwarfish Figure Carrying a Dog: Some Thoughts on the Representation of Bodies and the Migration of Iconographic Themes and Motifs in Egyptian Art', *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts*, 116/117 (2012). Additionally, monkeys and Bes are depicted playing musical instruments; see James Romano, 'The Bes-image in Pharaonic Egypt' (unpublished PhD thesis, New York University, New York, 1989), p. 70 n. 146. At Philae, dwarves and baboons are paired in celebrating the *Return of the Distant Goddess*; see Joachim Quack, 'The animals of the desert and the return of the goddess,' in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb and N. Pöllath (eds), 'Desert animals in the Eastern Sahara: status, economic significance, and cultural reflection in antiquity', *Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne, December 14–15, 2007* (Cologne, 2009), pp. 353, 355. See also Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 62, 133 for the association between Bes/short people and monkeys/baboons.

Baboons were special in their own right. They were said to speak a divine language, which could be understood by the king. By classical times certain priests were said to understand this language; see Herman te Velde, 'Some remarks on the mysterious language of the baboons', in J. H. Kamstra, H., Milde and K. Wagtendonk (eds), *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen,

1988), pp. 129–37. Baboons are also human-like and danced and sung at the rising of the sun. *Pyramid Text* Spell 608 (1437) says such baboons are the sons of Re.

58 Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 46–52.

59 Sonia Zakrzewski, 'Palaeopathology, disability and bodily impairments' in R. Metcalfe, J. Cockitt and R. David (eds), *Palaeopathology in Egypt and Nubia: A Century in Review* (Oxford, 2014), p. 59. See also this volume, p. 158.

60 For more information on this class of object, see: Françoise Dunand, *Catalogue des terres cuites Greco-Romanines d'Egypte* (Paris, 1990) and László Török, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt* (Rome, 1995). These objects are found on settlement sites and in temples (see, for example, Bernard Grenfell, A. S. Hunt and D. G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* (London, 1900), pp. 37, 52), and in tombs (see W. M. F. Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis*, IV, (London, 1911), pls. 14–16). The offering of clay votives in temples and homes was a Greek, not an Egyptian, phenomenon; see L. Török, *Hellenising Art in Ancient Nubia and its Egyptian Models. A Study in Acculturation* (Leiden, 2011), p. 86.

61 Maya Muratov, '"The World's a Stage …': Some Observations on Four Hellenistic Terracotta Figurines of Popular Entertainers', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 2.9 (2012), 56 (with references); David Jeffreys and W. J. Tait, 'Disability, madness, and social exclusion in Dynastic Egypt', in J. Hubert (ed.), *Madness, Disability and Social Exclusion. The Archaeology and Anthropology of Difference, One World Archaeology*, 40 (London and New York, 2000), pp. 87–95.

62 Sally-Ann Ashton, 'Foreigners at Memphis? Petrie's Racial Types', in J. Tait (ed.), *'Never Had the Like Occurred': Egypt's View of Its Past* (London, 2003), pp. 187–96.

63 For example, see Jane Harrison, 'The Ker as Gorgon', in J. E. Harrison, *Prolegoma to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 187–97; Alan Wace, 'Grotesques and the Evil Eye', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 10 (1903/1904), 103–14; but also see Muratov, 'The world's a stage…', p. 59, n. 19 for other references.

64 Mustafa S¸ahin, 'Hellenistic Braziers in the British Museum: Trade Contacts between Ancient Mediterranean Cities', *Anatolian Studies*, 51 (2001), p. 118.

65 Susan Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery. The Plain Wares, Vol. XXXIII: The Athenian Agora* (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006), p. 204 (with references), pp. 202, 218; pl. 83.

66 Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery*, p. 204.

67 Thomas Webster, 'Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, suppl. 20, 2nd edn (London, 1967), p. 15; and Fernand Mayence, 'Fouilles de Délos: Les Rechauds en Terre-Cuite', *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, 29 (1905), 398–401, cited in Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery*, p. 204, n. 120. Rotroff also gives examples of satyr masks with up-standing hair.

68 A good example of second-century Greek mask with beard and onkos, which looks very similar to our lugs is the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 01.7911.

69 English translation in Eric Csapo and W. J. Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama* (Ann Arbor, 1995), p. 399.

70 Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery*, p. 204 (with references).

71 Christopher A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses. Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (New York and Oxford, 1992), pp. 55–6.

72 Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery*, p. 204 (with references).

73 Alexander Conze, 'Griechische Kohlenbecken', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 5 (1890), p. 138; Adolf Furtwängler, 'Zu den Köppfen der griechischen Kohlenbecken', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 6 (1891), 110–124;

Harrison, 'The Ker as Gorgon', pp. 188–90, figs 27–29; Mayence, 'Fouilles de Délos', pp. 397-8; Gerard Siebert, 'Les réchauds', in P. Bruneau, C. Vatin, U. Bezerra de Meneses, G. Donnay, E. Levy, A. Bovon, G. Siebert, V. R. Grace, M. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, E. Lyding and W. T. Hackens (eds), *L'ilôt de la Maison des Comédiens. Exploration archéologique de Délos*, 27 (Paris, 1970), p. 275.

74 Caitlín Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos. A Study in Hellenistic Relgion* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), pp. 278–9 (with references).

75 Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt*, especially pp. 89, 96, 104.

76 For references and discussion, see Lorton, 'The theology of cult statues', pp. 132–4.

77 Lorton, 'The theology of cult statues', p. 193.

78 For votive offerings to Hathor, see Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1993); see also Kelsey Museum (2002) and Geraldine Pinch and E. A. Waraksa, 'Votive practices', in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2009), http://escholarship.org/uc/item/7kp4n7rk.

79 Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, pp. 339–42 and Pinch and Waraksa, 'Votive Practices'.

80 Quack, 'The animals of the desert', pp. 353, 355.

81 Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt*, pp. 77–82, explains the wrapping of the Apis. For information on the papyrus, and the board and clamps, see R. L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual. P. Vondob 3873* (Leiden, 1993). For the boards and clamps, see pages 134–44.

82 For more on Apis and Buchis bulls, see Salima Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2005).

83 Dieter Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König. Ägypten und Altes Testament*, 16 (Wiesbaden, 1989). Kessler and A. Nur el-Din also assert that the Apis was associated with the royal cult, in 'Tuna el-Gebel': millions of ibises and other animals', in S. Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures*, pp. 120–63.

84 Kessler sees animal mummies as part of the royal cult and important for kingly renewal. He also states that these animals were not votive offerings as such, but rather were sacred because they died on temple grounds; see Kessler and Nur el-Din, 'Tuna el-Gebel' and Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere.* See also Martin Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten und im Kulturvergleich, Internet-Beitraege Zur Aegyptologie Und Sudanarchaeologie* (London, 2005) and S. Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures.*

However, many animals were deliberately killed, so the idea of natural death in temple grounds seems unlikely.

85 E. Bleiberg, 'Animal mummies: the souls of the gods', in E. Bleiberg, Y. Barbash and Lisa Bruno, *Soulful Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt* (London and Brooklyn, 2013), pp. 63–106.

86 'Curator's comments' on EA10945.1 in the British Museum Online Catalogue [Accessed December 2015].

87 Kessler and Nur el-Din, 'Tuna el-Gebel', p. 160.

88 Theo Falke, 'Radiology of ancient Egyptian mummified animals', in J. Van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt: in honour of Herman te Velde* (Groningen, 1997), p. 57, fig. 7d.

89 Richard Johnston, R. Thomas, J. Christie, C. Graves-Brown, R. Jones, W. R. Goodridge and L. North, 'Imaging the dead. X-ray microtomography of ancient Egyptian animal mummies' (in preparation).

90 Papyrus Berlin 14476 recto 8, for example, suggests that the gods were immanent in all of nature.

8. Conclusions

1 See the introductory chapter in this volume. For attempts to differentiate social classes, see Lynn Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life* (Oxford, 1999); Janet Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2005).

2 Anna Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna. The Material Evidence*, BAR International Series, 1587 (Oxford, 2006).

3 Kasia Szpakowska, 'Demons in Ancient Egypt', *Religion Compass*, 3/5 (2009), 799–805.

4 Veronica Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (New York, 1993), p. 81.

5 Rita Lucarelli, 'Demonology during the Late Pharaonic and Greco-Roman Periods in Egypt', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, 11 (2011), 109–25.

6 Though Smith warns against overemphasising this and there is no actual proof that these figures were used for rituals on domestic sites; see Mark Smith, *Following Osiris. Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 437–9.

7 Lucarelli, 'Demonology during the Late Pharaonic and Greco-Roman Periods'.

8 John Baines, 'Interpretations of Religion: Logic, Discourse, Rationality', *Göttinger Miszellen*, 76 (1984), 48–9; Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. D. Lorton (Ithaca and London, 2001), pp. 1–5, 163–8.

9 Assmann, *The Search for God*, pp. 95–6.

10 Hermann Junker, *Die Geisteshaltung der Ägypter in der Frühzeit* (Vienna, 1961).

11 Rudolf Anthes, 'Affinity and Difference between Egyptian and Greek Sculpture and Thought in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries BC', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107 (1963), 60–81.

12 For more on this see Carolyn Graves-Brown, 'The ideology of flint in Dynastic Egypt' (unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, London, 2011). Available online at: http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1306709/. In the thesis I try to explain a change in the ideology of flint from implicit to explicit religion and metaphor.

13 I was tempted to use the term 'the Other' because this includes notions of identity and dichotomy, the Other as opposed to the Self. The idea of the Other has a long history which can be traced back to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). However, it usually includes notions of superiority and inferiority. Therein lies a problem; it is not always possible to tell which groups were considered superior. Difference does not necessarily equate with inferiority and we cannot be sure that daemons are portrayed as weird because of their inferiority.

14 H. Fischer, 'The ancient egyptian attitude towards the monstrous', in A. E. Farkas, P. O. Harper and E. B. Harrison (eds), *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Papers Presented in Honor of Edith Porada* (Mainz, 1987), p. and Lucarelli 'Demonology during the Late Pharaonic and Greco-Roman Periods', p. 112 (with references). In Egyptological literature on daemons the concept that daemons were considered fantastical prevails; see Panagiotis Kousoulis, 'Egyptian vs otherness and the issue of acculturation in the Egyptian demonic discourse of the Late Bronze Age', in N. Stampolidis, A. Kanta and A. Giannikouri (eds), *ATHANASIA: the Earthly, the Celestial and the Underworld in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age* (Heraklion, 2012), pp. 132.

15 Kousoulis, 'Egyptian vs otherness', pp. 223–8.

16 Of course, foreigners were not always considered lesser, and any being had the potential of rebellion.

17 Sonia Zakrzewski, 'Palaeopathology, disability and bodily impairments', in R. Metcalfe, J. Cock-itt and R. David (eds), *Palaeopathology in Egypt and Nubia. A Century in Review* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 57–68. For disability as otherness, see Jane Hubert, 'Introduction: the

complexity of boundedness and exclusion', in J. Hubert (ed.), *Madness, Disability and Social Exclusion. One World Archaeology*, 40 (London, 2000), pp. 1–8.

18 Mirian Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume 2: The New Kingdom* (Los Angeles, 1976), pp. 146–63.

19 David Jeffreys and W. J. Tait, 'Disability, madness, and social exclusion in Dynastic Egypt', in J. Hubert (ed.), *Madness, Disability and Social Exclusion*, pp. 87–95.

20 Dasen, *Dwarfs*, p. 135. Examples include a New Kingdom stela showing a man with a deformed leg who was none the less a Royal Doorkeeper (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AE.I.N. 134). Certainly several members of the royal household who had deformities were not barred from becoming kings, Tutankhamun being perhaps the most well-known; see Jeffreys and Tait, 'Disability, madness and social exclusion', pp. 87–95.

21 R. Ritner, 'O. Gardiner 363: A spell against Night Terrors', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 27 (1990), p. 27.

22 Alan Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 3 (Oxford University Press: London, 1947).

23 There are many discussions of this, including Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. John Baines (Ithaca, 1982), pp. 39–40; David Silverman, 'Divinities and deities in Ancient Egypt', in B. E. Shafer, J. Baines, L. H. Lesko, and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 7–87; A. Roth, 'The representation of the divine in Ancient Egypt', in G. Beckman and T. J. Lewis (eds), *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion* (Providence, 2006), pp. 24–37.

24 Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 114–16.